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THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

OMAN EMPIRE,

AND A VIEW OF

HE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE

ISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS

TO THE

PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

IN A

SERIES of LETTERS from a NOBLEMAN to his SON.

A NEW EDITION, enlarged and greatly improved.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART I.

From the RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS to the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, in 1648.

LETTER XLII.

ENGLAND *from the Death of* EDWARD III. *to the Acceſſion of* HENRY V. *with ſome Account of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND *during that Period.*

LETTER XLII.
A. D. 1377.

AFTER ſeeing England victorious over France and Spain, you have ſeen her, my dear Philip, ſtript almoſt of all her poſſeſſions on the continent, and Edward III. expiring with much leſs glory than had diſtinguiſhed the more early periods of his reign. His ſucceſſor, Richard II. ſon of the Black Prince, was little able to recover what had been loſt through the indiſpoſition of his father, and the dotage of his grandfather. Happy had it been for him, and for his people, could he have ruled his own kingdom with judgment!

PART I.

A.D. 1377. RICHARD was certainly a weak prince, but his weakneſs was not immediately perceived or felt by the nation. He was only, at his acceſſion, a boy of eleven years of age, from whom conſequently little could be expected. The habits of order and obedience, which the nobility had been taught by the third Edward, ſtill influenced them; and the authority of Richard's three uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter, ſufficed to repreſs for a time that turbulent ſpirit, to which the great barons were ſo often ſubject during a weak reign. The different characters of thoſe three princes rendered them alſo a counterpoiſe to each other; ſo that there appeared no new circumſtance in the domeſtic ſituation of England, which could endanger the public peace, or give any immediate apprehenſions to the lovers of their country.

BUT this flattering proſpect proved deluſive. Diſcontents and diſſenſions ſoon took place among all orders of men. The firſt tumult was of the popular kind. War had been carried on between France and England, after the death of Edward III. but in ſo languid a manner as ſerved only to exhauſt the finances of both kingdoms. In order to repair the ex-

A.D. 1380. pences of theſe fruitleſs armaments, the Engliſh parliament found it neceſſary to impoſe a poll tax, of three groats a head, on every perſon, male and female, above fifteen years of age. The inequality and injuſtice of this tax was obvious to the meaneſt capacity, and the rigorous manner in which it was levied made it yet more grievous. The great body of the people, many of whom were ſtill in a ſtate of ſlavery, became ſeverely ſenſible of the unequal lot which fortune had aſſigned them in the diſtribution of her favours. They looked up to the firſt origin

LETTER XLII.

of mankind from one common ſtock, their equal right to liberty, and to all the benefits of nature. Nor did they fail to reflect on the tyranny of artificial diſtinctions, the abuſes which had ariſen from the degradation of the more conſiderable part of the ſpecies, and the aggrandiſement of a few individuals [1]. A. D. 1380.

"When Adam delv'd, and Eve ſpan,
"Where was then the gentleman?"

was their favourite diſtich: and although theſe verſes, when miſapplied, ſtrike at the foundation of all ſociety, they contain a ſentiment ſo flattering to that ſenſe of primitive equality, engraved in the hearts of all men, as never to be repeated without ſome degree of approbation.

When the diſcontents of the populace were thus prepared, the inſolence of a tax-gatherer, and the ſpirit of a blackſmith, blew them into a flame. While the blackſmith was at work, in a village of Eſſex, the tax-gatherer came into his ſhop, and demanded payment for his daughter. The father replied, that ſhe was below the age preſcribed by the ſtatute: the tax-gatherer affirmed ſhe was a full grown woman, and in proof of his aſſertion attempted an indecency; which incenſed the blackſmith to ſuch a degree, that he knocked the ruffian dead with his forge-hammer. The by-ſtanders applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and aſſert their native rights. They flew to arms: the flame of ſedition ſpread from county to county; and before the government had the A. D. 1381.

1. Froiſſard, liv. ii. Walſingham. Knighton.

PART I. A.D. 1381.

leaſt intimation of the danger, the diſorder had grown beyond all controul or oppoſition.

THESE mutinous peaſants, to the number of one hundred thouſand, aſſembled on Black-heath, under their leader, Wat Tyler; and ſent a meſſage to the king, who had taken ſhelter in the Tower, that they deſired a conference with him. Richard ſailed down the river in a barge for that purpoſe; but on approaching the ſhore, he diſcovered ſuch ſymptoms of tumult and inſolence, that he judged it prudent to return. Finding however that the Tower would be no ſecurity againſt the lawleſs multitude, and afflicted at the ravages and cruelties of the rioters, who had broken into the city of London; plundered the merchants, and cut off the heads of all the gentlemen they could ſeize; the young king found it neceſſary to go out, and aſk their demands. They required a general pardon; the abolition of ſlavery; freedom of commerce in market-towns, without toll or impoſt; and a fixed rent on lands, inſtead of the ſervices due by villanage. Theſe requeſts were highly reaſonable; but the behaviour of Wat Tyler, their leader, who in making his demands, frequently brandiſhed his ſword in a menacing manner, ſo incenſed William Walworth, lord mayor of London, that he lifted up his mace, or, as others ſay, his ſpear, and ſtruck Tyler a violent blow, which brought him to the ground, where he was inſtantly run through the body by another of the king's train. The mutineers ſeeing their leader fall, prepared themſelves for revenge; and the King and his whole company muſt have periſhed on the ſpot, had not Richard diſcovered an extraordinary preſence of mind in that extremity. He ordered his attendants to ſtop, advanced alone towards the enraged multitude, and accoſting them with an affable and

in-

intrepid countenance, "What! my good people," said he, "is the meaning of this commotion? —Be "not concerned for the loſs of your leader. I am "your king: I will become your leader: follow me "into the field, and you ſhall have whatever you de- "ſire." Over-awed by the royal preſence, they implicitly followed him; and he peaceably diſmiſſed them, after granting them their demands[2]. LETTER XLII. A.D. 1381.

RICHARD's conduct on this occaſion, conſidering that he was only ſixteen years of age, raiſed great expectations in the nation; but in proportion as he advanced in years, they gradually vaniſhed, and his want of capacity, or at leaſt of ſolid judgment, appeared in every meaſure which he adopted. His firſt expedition was againſt Scotland, into which he marched at the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men. A.D. 1385. The Scots did not pretend to make reſiſtance againſt ſo great a force: they abandoned, without ſcruple, their rugged territory to be pillaged and laid waſte by the enemy, and made an incurſion into the more fertile provinces of England, where they collected a rich booty, and returned in tranquillity to their own country. The Engliſh monarch, however, wandered over great part of the comparatively barren kingdom of Scotland, and led his army back into England, without taking vengeance on the enemy for their devaſtations[3]. His impatience to return, and enjoy his uſual pleaſures and amuſements, over-balanced every higher conſideration, and made even revenge a motive too feeble to detain him.

RICHARD, like moſt weak princes, now reſigned himſelf wholly to the direction of a favourite, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of diſ-

2. Ibid. 3. T. Walſingham. Froiſſard, ubi ſup.

PART I. ſolute manners, whom he loaded with riches, with titles, and with dignities. He firſt created him marquis of Dublin, and afterwards duke of Ireland, with a parliamentary grant of the ſovereignty of that kingdom for life. The uſual, and but too often juſt complaints againſt the inſolence of favourites, were ſoon loudly echoed, and greedily received, in all parts of England. A civil war was the conſequence: the
A. D. 1388. royal party was defeated; and Richard was obliged to reſign the government into the hands of a council of fourteen, appointed by the parliament. The duke of Glouceſter, who had been at the head of this inſurrection, next entered an accuſation againſt five of the king's miniſters, who were declared guilty of high treaſon; and as many of them as could be ſeized were executed. The duke of Ireland made his eſcape beyond ſea, as did Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who had diſcharged the office of lord high chancellor. Both died abroad.

It might naturally be expected that Richard, thus reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery by his ſubjects, and unable to defend his ſervants from the reſentment of his uncles, would remain long in ſubjection, and never recover the royal power without the moſt violent ſtruggles: but the event proved otherwiſe. In leſs than twelve months he was entirely reconciled to his
A. D. 1389. uncles, and exerciſed the regal authority in its full extent.

After theſe domeſtic diſturbances were compoſed, and the government reſtored to its natural ſtate, there paſſed an interval of eight years diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable event; but during which the king brought himſelf into the loweſt degree of perſonal contempt, even while his government appeared in a great meaſure

ſure unexceptionable. Addicted to vulgar pleaſures, he ſpent his whole time in feaſting and jollity; and diſſipated in idle ſhew, or laviſhed upon favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to ſee him employ in undertakings for the public honour and advantage. LETTER XLII.

THE duke of Glouceſter ſoon perceived the opportunities which this diſſolute conduct of his nephew afforded him of inſinuating himſelf into the affections of the nation; and he determined to aſpire at popularity, as the ladder to the throne. He ſeldom appeared at court or in the council: he never declared his opinion but in order to diſapprove of the meaſures embraced by the king and his favourites; and he courted the friendſhip of every man whom diſappointment or private reſentment had rendered an enemy to the adminiſtration. Richard, however, got intelligence of his deſigns, and ordered him unexpectedly to be arreſted, and carried over to Calais; the only place where he could ſafely be detained in cuſtody, by reaſon of his numerous partizans, and where he was ſoon after murdered. The royal vengeance fell alſo, though with different degrees of ſeverity, on the earls of Arundel and Warwick, the ſuppoſed accomplices of Glouceſter, and on the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Arundel's brother, who was baniſhed the kingdom. Arundel himſelf was beheaded, and Warwick was doomed to perpetual confinement in the Iſle of Man [4]. A.D. 1397

THE deſtruction of the duke of Glouceſter, and the ſupporters of his party, was followed by a miſunderſtanding among thoſe noblemen who had joined in the proſecution; and the duke of Hereford, in particular, went ſo far as to accuſe the duke of Norfolk in par-

4. T. Walſingham. Froiſſard, liv. iv. Rymer, vol. vii.

PART I. A. D. 1398.

liament, of having ſpoken "many ſlanderous words "of the king." Norfolk denied the charge; gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted; the time and place of combat were appointed, and the whole nation was held in ſuſpence with regard to the event. But when the two champions appeared in the field, accoutred for the fight, the king interpoſed, to prevent both the preſent effuſion of blood, and the future conſequences of the quarrel. He ſtopped the duel, by the advice and authority of the parliamentary commiſſioners, appointed to regulate the combat; and, by the ſame authority, he ordered both the cobatants to leave the kingdom [5]. Hereford was baniſhed for ten years, and Norfolk for life.

THE ſentence pronounced upon theſe two noblemen appears to have been impartial, but it ſurely was not equitable. The one was condemned without being charged with any offence; the other without being convicted of any crime. It was alſo unpopular. Richard's conduct in this affair was conſidered as a mark of the puſillanimity of his temper: and the weakneſs and fluctuation of his councils, at leaſt, appear on no occaſion more evident. Henry duke of Hereford, being a man of great prudence and ſelf-command, behaved himſelf with ſo much humility after his condemnation, that the king promiſed to ſhorten the term of his exile four years; and alſo granted him letters patent impowering him, in caſe any inheritance ſhould accrue to him during the interval, to enter into immediate poſſeſſion. But Hereford, who was ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, had no ſooner left the kingdom than Richard's jealouſy of the power and riches of that family revived; and he grew ſenſible, that by Glouceſter's death he had only

5. T. Walſingham. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. i.

removed

removed a counterpoiſe to the Lancaſtrian intereſt, which was now became formidable to the throne. He therefore took every method to ſully abroad the reputation of Henry duke of Hereford, and to obſtruct his alliances, by repreſenting him as guilty of treaſonable practices; and when the duke of Lancaſter died, he revoked his letters patent to Henry, and retained poſſeſſion of the family eſtate [6].

LETTER XLII.

A. D. 1399.

THESE inſtances of rapacity and ſeverity, and the circumſtances with which they were accompanied, threw upon Richard the univerſal odium of the people. Hereford, now duke of Lancaſter, had formerly acquired the eſteem of the public by his valour and abilities: He was connected with moſt of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendſhip; his misfortunes added double luſtre to his merit; all men made his caſe their own: they entered into his reſentment; and they turned their eyes towards him as the only perſon who could retrieve the loſt honour of the nation, or reform the abuſes of government.

WHILE the minds of men were thus diſpoſed, Richard went over to quell an inſurrection in Ireland, and thereby imprudently afforded his exiled couſin an opportunity of gratifying the wiſhes of the nation. Henry landed at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, accompanied only by ſixty perſons; but he was ſuddenly joined by the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, two of the moſt potent barons in England, and the malcontents in all quarters flew to arms. He ſolemnly declared that he had no other purpoſe in this invaſion than to recover the duchy of Lancaſter, unjuſtly detained from him; and he entreated his uncle, the duke of York, who had been left guardian

6. Tyrrel, vol. iii. from the *Records*.

of

PART I. A.D. 1399.

of the kingdom, not to oppoſe a loyal and humble ſupplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony. His entreaties had the deſired effect. The guardian embraced his cauſe, and he immediately found himſelf maſter of England.

RICHARD no ſooner received intelligence of this invaſion than he haſtened over from Ireland, and landed at Milford Haven, with a body of twenty thouſand men. But even that ſmall army was ſeized with the ſpirit of diſaffection, and the king found himſelf almoſt entirely deſerted. In this extremity he fled to the Iſle of Angleſea, where he propoſed to embark for France, and there wait the return of his ſubjects to a ſenſe of their duty. But before he had an opportunity of carrying his deſign into execution, the earl of Northumberland waited upon him from the duke of Lancaſter, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and ſubmiſſion; and Richard was ſo credulous as to put himſelf in the power of his enemy. He was carried about in an abject manner, expoſed to the inſults of the populace; depoſed, confined in priſon, and afterwards murdered [7]. And the duke of Lancaſter was proclaimed king, under the name of Henry IV.

THE beginning of the reign of Henry IV. as may naturally be expected from the manner in which he obtained the throne, was ſtained by many acts of blood and violence. All who oppoſed his title fell a ſacrifice to his rigid policy, and ſuperſtition was called in, to ſwell by new crimes the horrid catalogue. While a ſubject, Henry was believed to have ſtrongly imbibed the principles of Wickliffe, a ſecular prieſt educated at Oxford, who, during the reigns of Ed-

7. T. Walſingham. Froiſſart. ubi ſup.

throne

ward III. and Richard II. preached the doctrine of reformation; but finding himſelf poſſeſſed of the throne by ſo precarious a title, this politic prince thought ſuperſtition a neceſſary engine of public authority. There had hitherto been no penal laws enacted againſt hereſy in England: Henry, therefore, who made nothing of ſacrificing his principles to his intereſt, underſtanding that the clergy called loudly for the puniſhment of the diſciples of Wickliffe, whoſe learning and genius had in ſome meaſure broken the fetters of prejudice, reſolved to procure the favour of the church by the moſt effectual of all methods, by gratifying her vengeance on thoſe who preſumed to diſpute her infallibility. A law was accordingly enacted, That when any heretic, who relapſed, or refuſed to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the ſecular arm, by the biſhop or his commiſſaries, he ſhould be committed to the flames by the civil magiſtrate, before the whole people[8]. This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of the clergy. William Sautré, a clergyman in London, had been condemned by the convocation at Canterbury; his ſentence was ratified by the houſe of peers; the king iſſued his writ for the execution; and the unhappy ſectary ſuffered the puniſhment of fire, becauſe he could not think as the church directed. What a fatal prelude to future horrors, proceeding from the ſame ſource!

LETTER XLII.

A. D. 1400.

But all the prudence and precaution of Henry could not ſhield him from numerous alarms. He was threatened from France with an invaſion, which was only prevented by the diſorders in that country; and the revolution in England was ſpeedily followed by an inſurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, deſcended

8. 2 Hen. IV. c. vii.

from

PART I. A.D. 1400.

from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; and Reginald, lord Grey of Ruthyn, who was closely connected with the new king, and who enjoyed a great fortune in the Marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppressing his neighbour, and taking possession of his estate. Glendour, provoked at the injustice, and still more at the indignity, recovered possession by the sword. Henry sent assistance to Grey, the Welch took part with Glendour: a tedious and troublesome war was kindled, which Glendour long sustained by his valour and activity, aided by the natural strength of the country, and the untamed spirit of the inhabitants.

THE Scots also were tempted by these disorders to make incursions into England; and Henry, desirous of taking revenge upon them, conducted an army as A. D. 1401. far north as Edinburgh. But finding that the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned without effecting any thing of consequence. Next season however, Archibald earl of Douglas, who at the head of twelve thousand men, attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, had made an irruption into the northern counties, was overtaken by the Percies of Northumberland on his return, at Homel- A. D. 1402. don, on the borders of England, where a fierce battle ensued, and the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner; as were the earls of Angus, Murray, Orkney, and many others of the Scottish nobility and gentry [9].

WHEN Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ransome his prisoners; a privilege which that nobleman

9. Walsingham, Hall. Otterbourne.

regarded

regarded as his right, by the then received laws of war. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland. But by this ſelfiſh policy he gave freſh diſguſt to the powerful family of Northumberland. The impatient ſpirit of Harry Percy, commonly known by the name of Hotſpur, and the factious diſpoſition of the earl of Worceſter, younger brother of the earl of Northumberland, inflamed the diſcontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted Northumberland to ſeek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at firſt eſtabliſhed. He entered into a correſpondence with Glendour: he ſet the earl of Douglas at liberty, and made an alliance with that martial chieftain. But when war was ready to break out, the earl of Northumberland was unfortunately ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewſbury, in order to join his forces with thoſe of Glendour. LETTER XLII. A. D. 1402.

THE king had happily a ſmall army on foot, with which he intended to act againſt the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he inſtantly hurried down, in order to give battle to the rebels. He approached Percy near Shrewſbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other, made them haſten to a general engagement. The armies were nearly equal in number, conſiſting of about twelve thouſand men each; and we ſcarcely find any battle in thoſe ages, where the ſhock was more terrible or more conſtant. Henry expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight; and the prince of Wales, his gallant ſon, whoſe military atchievements became after- A. D. 1430.

PART I. A. D. 1403.

afterwards ſo famous, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, ſignalized himſelf in a remarkable manner. Percy ſupported that renown which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, ſtill appeared his rival amid the horror and confuſion of the fight. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almoſt incredible. He ſeemed determined the king of England ſhould fall that day by his arm. He ſought him all over the field; and as Henry had accoutred ſeveral captains in the royal garb, in order to encourage his troops, the ſword of Douglas rendered that honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Hotſpur, accompliſhed by an unknown hand, decided the victory: the royaliſts prevailed. There are ſaid to have fallen on both ſides near two thouſand three hundred gentlemen.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his ſickneſs, had levied a freſh army, and was on his march to join his ſon; but being oppoſed by the earl of Weſtmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewſbury, he diſmiſſed his forces, and came with a ſmall retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his ſole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties. Henry thought proper to admit the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence. All the other rebels were treated with equal lenity; and, except the earl of Worceſter and Sir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the inſurrection, no perſon engaged in that dangerous conſpiracy ſeems to have periſhed by the hands of the executioner [10].

10. Ibid. Rymer, vol. viii.

THIS

LETTER XLII.

THIS rebellion was no ſooner quelled, than another was ready to break out, ſupported by the earl of Nottingham and the archbiſhop of York. But it was diſcovered before it was ripe for execution, and the earl and the archbiſhop were both beheaded. A.D. 1405. Northumberland alſo was concerned in this ſecond rebellion, but made his eſcape into Scotland; whence returning to commit new diſorders, he was ſlain at Bramham, along with lord Bardolf[11]. A.D. 1408. The defeat of Glendour, and the ſubmiſſion of the Welſh, which happened ſoon after, freed Henry from all his domeſtic enemies; A.D. 1409. and a fortunate event which had thrown the heir to the crown of Scotland into his hands, made him alſo ſecure on that quarter.

ROBERT III. king of Scotland, though a prince of ſlender capacity, was extremely innocent and inoffenſive in his conduct. But Scotland, at that time, was ſtill leſs fitted than England for cheriſhing a ſovereign of ſuch a character. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of a boiſterous and violent diſpoſition, had aſſumed the government of the ſtate; and not ſatisfied with preſent authority, he entertained the criminal purpoſe of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw into priſon David, his eldeſt nephew, who there periſhed by hunger; ſo that James, the younger brother of David, alone ſtood between the tyrant and the throne. Robert, therefore, ſenſible of his ſon's danger, embarked him on board a ſhip, with a view of ſending him into France, and of truſting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, however, the veſſel was taken by the Engliſh; and although there ſubſiſted at that time a truce between the two kingdoms, Henry re-

11. T. Walſingham.

fuſed

PART I. fuſed to reſtore the young prince to his liberty [12]. But he made ample amends for this want of generoſity, by beſtowing on James an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in ſome meaſure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

THE remaining part of the reign of Henry IV. was chiefly ſpent in regulating the affairs of his kingdom; which he at length brought into much order, by his valour, prudence, and addreſs. In his latter years, however, he began to turn his eyes towards thoſe bright projects, which his more fortunate ſon conducted ſo ſucceſsfully againſt the French monarchy; but his declining health prevented him from attempting to put any of them in execution. Afflicted for ſome years with violent fits, which frequently deprived him of all ſenſation, and threatened his exiſtA.D. 1413. ence, he was carried off by one of them at Weſtminſter in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign [13]. He left behind him the reputation of a wiſe prince, a prudent king, but a bad man; and yet, if we conſider the circumſtances in which he was involved, we can hardly conceive any perſon to carry his ambition to the ſame height, and tranſmit a throne to his poſterity, with leſs violence to humanity.

WE ſhould now examine the affairs of France under Charles VI. as an introduction to the reign of Henry V. of England, who became ſovereign of both kingdoms; but we muſt firſt carry forward the hiſtory of the empire and the church.

12. Buchanan, lib. 10. *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv.
13. Walſingham, Otterbourne.

LETTER

LETTER XLIII.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies,* ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Acceſſion of* WINCESLAUS *to the death of* SIGISMUND.

LETTER XLIII.

THE hiſtory of the German empire, my dear Philip, becomes always more important to us, in proportion as we advance in the narration, though the empire itſelf grew daily leſs conſequential. We now approach two principal events in the hiſtory of the church: the Great Schiſm in the Weſt, and the Council of Conſtance.

WINCESLAUS, at the age of ſeventeen, ſucceeded his father, Charles IV. in the government of the empire, and on the throne of Bohemia, when the church was divided by one of thoſe violent conteſts ſo diſgraceful to Chriſtianity. The Italians had raiſed to the pontificate Urban VI. who confirmed the election of the new emperor, and the French had choſen Clement VII. During theſe troubles Winceſlaus appointed Jadoc, marquis of Moravia, his vicar-general in Italy; laid injunctions on him to inquire which of the two perſons choſen, was the true pope; to acknowledge and protect him whom he ſhould find to be canonically elected, and to expel by force the other, who had intruded himſelf into the chair. He likewiſe held a diet at Nuremburg, and afterwards one at Frankfort, where the affair of the popes being examined, Urban VI. was acknowledged by the German biſhops and archbiſhops, and Winceſlaus and the princes of the empire engaged to protect him in the papacy [1]. A. D. 1378. A. D. 1379.

1. Du Puy, *Hiſt. Gen. du Schiſme*, &c. Maimbourg, *Hiſt. du Grand Schiſme d' Occident.*

PART I.

A. D. 1379. AFTER the diet of Frankfort, the emperor repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he reſided ſome time, becauſe the plague raged in Bohemia; and here he gave himſelf up to all manner of debauchery, neglecting the affairs of the empire to ſuch a degree, that the princes and towns of Germany were obliged to enter into aſſociations for their mutual defence. At the ſame time Italy was torn to pieces by the ſchiſm in the church. Clement, who had taken Rome from his rival, was expelled in his turn by the citizens, and afterwards ſettled at Avignon, the former reſidence of the French pontiffs. Urban uſed his victory like a tyrant. But all prieſts in power, it has been ſaid, are tyrants. The famous Joan, queen of Naples, of whom I have already had occaſion to ſpeak, firſt experienced the effects of Urban's vengeance.

THIS princeſs, who had imprudently eſpouſed the cauſe of Clement, had been ſeveral times married, but had no children by any of her huſbands; ſhe therefore adopted Charles de Durazzo, the natural heir to her kingdom, and the only remaining deſcendant of the houſe of Anjou in Naples. But Durazzo, unwilling to wait for the crown till the natural death of his adoptive mother, aſſociated himſelf with pope
A. D. 1380. Urban, who crowned him king of Naples at Rome, on condition that he ſhould beſtow the principality of Capua on Francis Prignano, nephew to his Holineſs. Urban alſo depoſed queen Joan, and declared her guilty of hereſy and high-treaſon.

THESE ſteps being taken, the pope and Durazzo marched towards Naples. The church plate and church lands were ſold, in order to facilitate the conqueſt. Joan, meanwhile, was deſtitute of both mo-
A. D. 1382. ney and troops. In this extremity, ſhe invited to her

her assistance Lewis of Anjou, brother to Charles V. of France. But Lewis, whom she had adopted in the room of the ungrateful Durazzo, arrived too late to defend his benefactress, or dispute the kingdom with his competitor. The pope and Durazzo entered Naples, after having defeated and taken prisoner Otho of Brunswick, the queen's husband. All resistance now appeared to be in vain, and flight alone seemed practicable. But even in this the unfortunate Joan failed: she fell into the hands of the usurper; who, in order to give some colour to his barbarity, declared himself the avenger of the murder of her first husband. Lewis king of Hungary was consulted in regard to the fate of the unhappy queen. He replied, that she must suffer the same death which she had inflicted on his brother and her husband, Andrew: and Durazzo ordered her to be smothered between two mattresses[2]. Thus perished the famous Joan I. queen of Naples, who was celebrated by Petrarch and Boccace; and whose life, character, and catastrophe, have a singular resemblance to those of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, whom I shall afterwards have occasion to mention.

LETTER XLIII.

A. D. 1382.

A. D. 1383.

While one gallant woman thus sunk beneath the arm of power, another rose superior to all resistance. On the death of Olaus, king of Denmark, his mother Margaret ascended the throne, with the unanimous consent of the people; and even recommended herself so strongly to the Swedes, who were oppressed by their own king Albert, that they renounced their allegiance to that prince, and made her a solemn tender of their crown. She accepted the offer; march-

A. D. 1387.

2. Gianone, *Hist. di Nap.*

PART I. ed to their alliance, and defeated Albert, who was
A. D. 1388. depoſed, and obliged to retire into the dominions of his brother the duke of Mecklenburg. On this revolution in Sweden, Margaret aſſumed the reins of government, and was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Semiramis of the North [3].

MEANTIME Winceſlaus continued immerſed in debauchery, and ſeemed induſtrious in acquiring the implacable hatred of his ſubjects by the extraordinary taxes he impoſed, and the cruelties which he exerciſed upon people of all ranks. In order to familiarize himſelf to blood and carnage, he deſcended ſo low, as to contract an intimacy with the public executioner, whom he diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of his goſſip; and in one of his fits of intoxication, he is ſaid to have ordered his cook to be roaſted alive [4].

ON account of theſe irregularities, and of ſelling the rights of the empire, both in Italy and Germany,
A. D. 1399. the electors aſſembled at the caſtle of Laenſtein on the Rhine, depoſed Winceſlaus, and raiſed to the imperial dignity Frederic duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg; but he being baſely murdered by count Waldeck before his coronation, they elected in his ſtead Rupert or Robert count Palatine of the Rhine.

WINCESLAUS was ſo little mortified at the news of his depoſition, that he is reported to have ſaid, when he received the intelligence, "We are overjoyed to "be delivered from the burden of the empire; be- "cauſe we ſhall have more leiſure to apply ourſelves "to the government of our own kingdom:" and it muſt be owned, that during the nineteen years, which

3. Nuitſel. *Hiſt. Dan.* tom. iv.
4. Dubrav. lib. xxiii. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

he

LETTER XLIII.

he afterwards reigned in Bohemia, his conduct was much leſs exceptionable. But although the indolent Winceſlaus was ſo little concerned at the loſs of the empire, he appears to have been ſenſibly affected by ſome of its probable conſequences, though ſeemingly of leſs moment; for he is ſaid to have deſired as a laſt mark of the fidelity of the imperial cities, that they would ſend him "ſome buts of their beſt wine [5]."

THE firſt expedition of the new emperor was againſt Galeazo Viſconti, whom Winceſlaus had created duke of Milan, and who, not contented with this promotion, propoſed by force of arms to make himſelf maſter of Florence, Mantua, Bologna, and other towns and countries, to be incorporated with his duchy. In order to preſerve theſe territories, and recover the imperial authority in Italy, Robert marched into the duchy of Milan, and encamped before the city of Brixen. A D. 1402.
But Galeazo was ſo well provided with troops and military ſtores, that the emperor was obliged to return to Germany, without being able to effect any thing of importance [6].

THE retreat of Robert left the field open to Galeazo, who now projected nothing leſs than the conqueſt of the whole kingdom of Italy: and fortune at firſt ſeemed to ſecond his views. He made himſelf maſter of the city of Bologna, and had almoſt reduced Florence, when he was attacked by a malignant fever, which at once put an end to his life and his projects.
As he left only one daughter, who was not of age, a A. D. 1403.
favourable opportunity was offered Robert of retrieving the affairs of the empire in Italy. But the German princes were ſo little pleaſed with his firſt expe-

5. Barre, tom. vii. 6. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. xxviii.

PART I. dition, that they would not grant him [illegible] for a second. He therefore employed himſelf in appeaſing the troubles of Germany, and in aggrandiſing his own electorate; to which he added the fiefs of Gegenbach, Ortemberg, Offenburg, Zell, Hermanbach, and ſeveral other lordſhips of Alſace, purchaſed of the biſhop of Straſburgh [7].

In the mean time Bohemia was involved in new diſorders by the preaching of John Huſs, profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Prague, who had embraced the opinions of Wickliffe, and was excommunicated by the pope. The publication of this ſentence was followed by troubles and ſeditions. Winceſlaus ſhut himſelf up in the fortreſs of Viſigrade, and John Huſs retired to Huſſinet, the place of his nativity; where he appealed from the judgment of
A.D. 1409. the pope to the Holy Trinity, and wrote to the cardinals, offering to give an account of his faith, even at the hazard of fire, before the univerſity of Prague, and in the preſence of thoſe who had attended his lectures and ſermons [8].

The Roman church not only ſuffered from theſe innovations, but alſo continued in a ſtate of diſtraction from the ſchiſm which ſtill remained, and which the emperor attempted in vain to cement. Gregory XII. who was acknowledged pope in Italy, convened a council at Aquileia, to which he invited Robert, and other Chriſtian princes, in order to conſider this matter. Benedict XIII. who was owned in France, held another council at Catalonia: the cardinals convoked a third at Piſa, and the emperor appointed a

7. Barre, tom. vii.
8. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iii. et Auct. cit. in loc.

dict,

diet for the ſame purpoſe, at Frankfort; where, after long debates, the opinions of the aſſembly were divided between the two popes. The greater part of the archbiſhops, prelates, and princes, eſpouſed the cauſe of the cardinals; but the emperor, the archbiſhop of Triers, the duke of Bavaria, and ſome others, declared for Gregory, who propoſed that a council ſhould be held at Udnia, in Friuli, under the direction of Robert, by whoſe deciſion he promiſed to abide. The emperor therefore ſent an archbiſhop, two biſhops, two doctors, and his chancellor, as ambaſſadors to Piſa, to prove by learned arguments, that the cardinals ought not to depoſe Gregory. But theſe ambaſſadors finding they could make no converts to their opinion, and that the cardinals, attached to Winceſlaus, would not even acknowledge their maſter as emperor, appealed from the council of Piſa to an œcumenical council, and retired without taking leave. The cardinals, however, proceeded to the depoſition of the two popes, and raiſed to the apoſtolic chair Alexander V. By this meaſure the ſchiſm was increaſed, there being now three popes inſtead of two [9]. A.D. 1409.

ROBERT died ſoon after this pious negociation, and before he was able to ſettle the affairs of the Holy See. He was ſucceeded in the empire, after a diſputed election, by Sigiſmund, brother to the depoſed Winceſlaus, and king of Hungary; a prince of experience and abilities, and whoſe firſt care was to heal the wounds of the church. For that purpoſe, he convoked a general council at Conſtance, with the concurrence of pope John XXIII. ſucceſſor of Alexander V. A.D. 1410. A.D. 1411.

6. Id. ibid.

PART I. AT this council, where Sigiſmund appeared in all his glory, were preſent a prodigious number of cardinals, prelates, doctors; more than an hundred ſovereign princes; one hundred and eight counts; two hundred barons; and twenty-ſeven ambaſſadors from the ſeveral European courts, who all vied with each other in luxury and magnificence. There were alſo five hundred players on inſtruments, called in thoſe times minſtrels; and ſeven hundred and eighteen courtezans, who were protected by the magiſtracy [10].

A.D. 1414

IN the firſt ſeſſion the fathers of the council concluded, that nothing could ſo effectually contribute to re-eſtabliſh the union of the church as the reſignation of the competitors for the papacy. John XXIII. who preſided in the council, aſſented to this opinion, and promiſed to renounce his title provided Angelo Corrario, who had aſſumed the name of Gregory XII. and Peter de Luna, diſtinguiſhed by that of Benedict XIII, would imitate him in that act of ſelf-denial. This declaration was no ſooner made, than the emperor roſe from his chair, and ran and embraced the feet of his Holineſs, applauding his Chriſtian reſignation. He was alſo ſolemnly thanked by the patriarch of Antioch, in the name of the whole council. But John afterwards repented of this condeſcenſion; and, by the aſſiſtance of Frederick duke of Auſtria, fled from Conſtance in the night, diſguiſed in the habit of a poſtilion [11].

A.D. 1415.

THIS unexpected retreat at firſt diſconcerted the council, which John declared to be diſſolved in conſequence of his ceceſſion But the fathers at length a-

10. *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

11. Theod. de Niem. in *Vit. Jo.* XXIII.

greed,

greed, after many learned arguments. That a council is ſuperior to the pope; confirmed the ſentence of John's depoſition; decreed that no other pope ſhould be choſen without the conſent of the council; and that John, together with his competitors, Angelo Corrario, and Peter de Luna, ſhould be for ever excluded from the papacy. Finding them thus determined, John thought proper to yield to the torrent rather than run the riſk of worſe fortune in attempting to oppoſe it. He quietly acquieſced in the ſentence of the council, and freely renounced the pontificate, the enſigns of which he immediately laid aſide [12]. Soon after this reſignation, Gregory XII. ſent a legate to the emperor and council to renounce his title in the ſame manner; but the proud Spaniard, Peter de Luna, would not yield; he remained obſtinate to the laſt.

LETTER XLIII.

A. D. 1415.

THE affair of John Huſs came next upon the carpet. John, as has been already obſerved, had imbibed the opinions of Wickliffe, and converted to his own way of thinking an infinite number of people of all ranks. Among others, his doctrine was embraced by Jerome of Prague, a man of learning, whom he engaged as his colleague, and who propagated the new religion with great warmth. They had been ſummoned to appear before the court of Rome, but refuſed to obey the citation. They condeſcended, however, to attend the council of Conſtance, in order to juſtify the doctrine they profeſſed; and Huſs, being provided with a ſafe-conduct from the emperor, boldly attempted to defend the articles of his faith before the fathers of the council. That venerable body, however, ſeemed inclined to condemn him unheard,

[12] Id. ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1415.

heard, when the emperor desired the [illegible] to listen to what Huss had to say in his own defence. He was accordingly questioned in presence of Sigismund, and accused of heresy in thirty-nine articles. Part of these he denied, and part he offered to defend. But his voice was drowned by the noise purposely made by the cardinals; and on his refusing to abjure all the thirty-nine articles, he was immediately declared a sower of [illegible]tion, a hardened heretic, a disciple and defender of Wickliffe. As such he was degraded by four bishops, stripped of his sacerdotal habit, and clothed in a lay dress. His hair was cut in the form of a cross: upon his head was put a paper mitre, painted with the representation of three devils; and he was delivered over to the secular judge, who condemned him and his writings to the flames, and fixed the day of his execution [13]. He died with great constancy.

After the execution of John Huss, the council resumed the affair of Peter de Luna, who still obstinately refused to quit his pretensions to the papacy. On this occasion Sigismund offered to go into Spain in person, and engage the mediation of Ferdinand king of Arragon, with whom Peter had taken refuge. By such a journey the emperor hoped to obtain a voluntary renunciation, like that of the other two, before the council should proceed to extremity. He set out accordingly for Spain, accompanied by twelve deputies from the council; and on his arrival at Perpignan, he entered into a negociation with Benedict, otherwise Peter de Luna, the result of which was sent to the council, though by no means answerable to his

13. Laur. Byzin. *Diar. Hussitic. Cbron. Magdeb. Biblioth. Angl.*

ex-

LETTER XLIII.

expectations. The obſtinacy of Benedict was inſurmountable, and incenſed the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he threatened to obtain by force that aſſent which the pope refuſed to grant by fair means; and Benedict, in conſequence of theſe menaces, retired to the fortreſs of Paniſcola, where he reſolved to preſerve his pontifical dignity to his lateſt breath. This unexpected flight deprived him of all his partizans. The king of Arragon, with all the princes and biſhops of his party, ſent deputies to the emperor at Narbonne; where it was agreed, That the council ſhould invite all the former adherents of Benedict to come to Conſtance, and join their endeavours for re-eſtabliſhing the peace of the church; and that, on their arrival, a new pope ſhould be choſen [14]. A. D. 1416.

DURING the abſence of Sigiſmund, the trial of Jerome of Prague engaged the attention of the council. This man had repaired to Conſtance, with a deſign to aſſiſt John Huſs in making his defence; but perceiving he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the fathers, he reſolved to retire with all expedition into Bohemia. Being apprehended, however, upon the road, he was loaded with chains, and brought back to Conſtance; where, in order to avoid the puniſhment of fire, he ſolemnly abjured the opinions of Wickliffe and Huſs. But aſhamed to ſurvive his maſter, who had encountered death with ſo much firmneſs, or not deriving the advantages he expected from his ſubmiſſion, he profeſſed anew the ſame doctrines; was condemned to the flames as a wicked apoſtate, and ſuffered with great fortitude [15].

14. Theod. Niem. ubi ſup. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. xxx.
15. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iii. Spond. *Contin.* tom. ii.

POGGIO

PART I. A. D. 1416. Poggio the Florentine, ſecretary to pope John, and one of the firſt reſtorers of letters, who was preſent on this occaſion, ſays he never heard any thing that approached ſo nearly to the eloquence of the ancient Greeks and Romans, as the ſpeech which Jerome made to the judges. "He ſpoke," exclaims Poggio, "like Socrates; and walked to the ſtake with as much "chearfulneſs, as that great philoſopher drank the cup "of hemlock!"

A. D. 1417. After the return of Sigiſmund, the council proceeded againſt Benedict for contumacy, when the definitive ſentence of his depoſition was pronounced. Their next care was the election of a new pope: and Otho Colonna, who poſſeſſed the accompliſhments of a prince, and the virtues of a prelate, was unanimouſly choſen on St. Martin's day, whence took the name of Martin V. Never was the inauguration of any pontiff attended with greater pomp. He rode in proceſſion to the cathedral, mounted on a white horſe; the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg on foot, leading it by the reins. A numerous crowd of princes, the ambaſſadors of all the kings, and the fathers of the council, cloſed the train. When he entered the cathedral, the triple crown was placed upon his head, and he returned in the ſame auguſt manner [16].

A. D. 1419. The important affair of the ſchiſm being thus concluded, every thing elſe was regulated by the council, which broke up in its forty-fifth ſeſſion. The diſputes about religion, however, ſtill raged with greater violence than ever. The Huſſites in Prague were ſo much offended at being prohibited the cup in the ſacrament of the euchariſt (contrary, as they affirmed,

16. Barre, tom. vii. *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

to

LETTER XLIII.

to the expreſs words of our Saviour, who ſays, "Except ye eat the fleſh of the ſon of man, and drink "his blood, ye have no life in you!") that they raiſed a furious tumult, forced the town-houſe, and murdered the magiſtrates, who were concerned in publiſhing the order [17]. A.D. 1419.

THE news of this maſſacre filled the court of Winceſlaus with the utmoſt conſternation, and made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on that puſillanimous prince, that he was ſeized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days. He was ſucceeded in the kingdom of Bohemia by his brother Sigiſmund, already emperor, and king of Hungary; yet this powerful prince was ſeveral times defeated by Ziſka, then general of the Huſſites, who revenged the death of their apoſtle by the moſt terrible outrages.

A PARTICULAR account of the war between the emperor and the Huſſites, would interfere with more important matters, without anſwering any valuable purpoſe: I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that Ziſka continued maſter of Bohemia till his death, when he ordered a drum to be made of his ſkin, which was long the ſymbol of victory. He was ſucceeded in the command by Procopius, ſurnamed the Shaven, becauſe he had been a prieſt, and who ſupported his party with no leſs valour than his predeceſſor. He boldly defended their cauſe in the council of Baſil, where many things were diſputed, which it is of little conſequence to know: and although he was unſucceſsful in that negociation, and alſo in a battle with the catholics, in which he was mortally wounded, yet the Huſſites, even in this extremity, obtained a A.D. 1424. A.D. 1433. A.D. 1436.

17. Byzinii *Diarium Huſſiticum* Moſheim, ubi ſupra.

general

PART. I. general amnesty, the confirmation of their pri i and the right of using the cup in the commu i concession which, to them was a kind of tri

After this pacification, Sigismund enlisted the Hussites in his army, and led them against the Turks, who had made an irruption into Hungary, and were
A.D. 1437. defeated with great slaughter by these hardy veterans. But although Sigismund had been so fortunate as to regain the affections of the Bohemians, he lost it anew by attempting to tyrannize over their consciences; and death only saved him from a second revolt. He nominated as his successor, in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, Albert, duke of Austria, his son-in-law, who was recognized by these states,
A.D. 1438. and also raised to the empire. The house of Austria has ever since held the imperial throne.

Sigismund, with many respectable qualities, was a narrow-minded bigot; and, contrary to the dictates of sound policy as well as of humanity, was guilty of the most detestable of all tyranny, that of violence on the will. His wife Barbara is said to have been a person of a more enlarged way of thinking, though not more to her honour. She denied a future state, and held the supreme good to consist in sensual delight. Conformably to this opinion, she set no bounds to her licentious amours after the death of the emperor. And when a certain lady of reputation mentioned to her the example of the turtle, which after having lost its mate, never chuses another, "Why," cried she, "instance a bird that lives in perpetual "solitude, far from the habitations of men, and of "which we know little? Is the example more for-

18. Id. Ibid.

"cible, or more fit for imitation, than that of the "pigeon and the ſparrow, birds always in our view, "and whoſe loves and joys are in continual ſuc-"ceſſion 19?" LETTER XLIII.

THE affairs of France now claim our attention.

LETTER XLIV.

FRANCE *from the Death of* CHARLES V. *in* 1380, *to the Invaſion of that Kingdom by* HENRY V. *of* ENGLAND, *in* 1415.

THE death of Charles V. of France, my dear Philip, which happened, as I have already obſerved ſoon after that of Edward III. of England, and the youth of his ſon Charles VI. put the two kingdoms in a ſimilar ſituation. Both were under the government of minors: and the jealouſies between the three uncles of Charles VI. the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, diſtracted the affairs of France even more than the rivalry between the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter, the three uncles of Richard II. diſordered thoſe of England. But a particular account of theſe diſtractions would be inconſiſtent with my preſent purpoſe; which is only to delineate the great line of hiſtory, and make you acquainted with the more remarkable events, or ſuch as have had a particular influence upon government and manners. In the reign of Charles VI. no enterprize of conſequence was undertaken, and government and manners, properly ſpeaking, were equally unknown. LETTER XLIV. A. D. 1380.

19. Æn. Sylv. cap. xxxiii. Dubrav. lib. xxviii.

I ſhall

PART I. I ſhall, therefore, conſider the hiſtory of France, during this diſtracted period, as only an introduction to the invaſion of that kingdom by Henry V. of England.

In proportion as the king advanced in years, the factions were compoſed. His uncle, the duke of Anjou died; and Charles himſelf, aſſuming the reins of
A. D. 1388. government, diſcovered ſymptoms of genius and ſpirit, which revived the drooping hopes of his countrymen. But this promiſing ſtate of things was of ſhort duration. The unhappy Charles fell ſuddenly into a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exerciſing his authority; and although he partly recovered from
A. D. 1392. that diſorder, he was ſubject to ſuch frequent relapſes, that his judgment was gradually impaired, and he became incapable of purſuing any ſteady plan of government[1].

The king's firſt relapſe is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the following accident. The queen having
A. D. 1393. married one of her maids of honour to a perſon of diſtinction, the nuptials were intended to be celebrated with great pomp at the palace of the queen-dowager, relict of Philip of Valois. Among other amuſements there was to be a maſquerade: a circumſtance which furniſhed five young noblemen with the extravagant idea of appearing as naked ſavages; and ſuch was the indelicacy of the times, that the king made one of the party. Their dreſs, contrived to fit cloſe to their bodies, was of linen covered with roſin; which, while hot, had been powdered with fur. And the ſecret was ſo well kept, that, when they appeared, they were not known; but their whim was highly applauded.

1. *Hiſt. Anonym de Charles VI.*

The

LETTER XLIV.

A. D. 1393.

The ducheſs of Berri laid hold of the king, ſeeing him robuſt and well made, and told him ſhe would not let him go till ſhe knew who he was. In the mean time the reſt began to dance; when the duke of Orleans, out of levity, making a feint of running a lighted torch againſt one of the ſavages, ſet his combuſtible habit on fire. The flame was quickly communicated to the reſt, and this ſcene of wanton mirth was inſtantly changed into ſorrow and diſtreſs. But in the midſt of their torments the maſks cried out continually, "Save the king! ſave the king!"—And the ducheſs of Berri ſuddenly recollecting, that he muſt be the maſk that ſtood next her, immediately threw her robes over him, and wrapping them cloſe about him, put out the fire. One of the maſks, by jumping into a ciſtern of water, ſaved his life; the other four were ſo terribly burnt, that they died in two days; and the king was ſo much affected with the fright, thas it occaſioned a return of his diſorder, which afterwards generally attacked him four or five times a year to the end of his life [2].

HISTORY ſcarce affords any parallel of a court or country more corrupt, and at the ſame time more miſerable, than that of this unfortunate monarch and his ſubjects, in conſequence of his infirmity. The adminiſtration fell again into the hands of the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who excluded the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, under pretence of his youth, from any ſhare in the government, and even from the ſhadow of authority. The caſe however was very different in regard to the ducheſs of Orleans. Young, beautiful, and inſinuating, ſhe acquired ſuch

2. Juv. des. Uſ. *Hiſt. Anonym.* &c.

PART I. an aſcendant over the king, that ſhe governed him at her pleaſure. Nay, what is yet more extraordinary, it was ſhe only that could govern him; for in the time of his malady he knew nobody elſe, not even the queen. Hence it was rumoured by the ducheſs of Burgundy, who envied the influence of the ducheſs of Orleans, that ſhe had bewitched the king; and, in order to heighten the odium, it was inſinuated that the duke of Orleans had alſo bewitched the queen[3]. That both were under the influence of enchantment is not to be doubted: but it was only that of youth, wit, and beauty, whoſe aſſiduities ſo often faſcinate the ſuſceptible heart; and, when unreſtrained by principle or ſentiment, lead it in the chains of looſe deſire[4].

WHILE things were in this ſituation the duke of
A.D. 1405. Burgundy died. He was ſucceeded in the duchy by his ſon, John count of Nevers, who diſputed the adminiſtration with the duke of Orleans, and hoped to govern France as his father had done. Propinquity to the crown pleaded in favour of the latter; the former derived conſequence from his ſuperior power, the death of his mother having added the county of Flanders to his father's extenſive dominions. The people were divided between theſe contending princes and the king, now reſuming and now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular ſettlement of the ſtate, by the final prevalence of either party.

3. Juv. des Urſins. Du Tillet. Le Gendre.

4. Iſabella of Bavaria, queen of France, and Valentinia of Milan, ducheſs of Orleans, were both remarkably handſome and accompliſhed; and the duke was alike amorous and ambitious.

LETTER XLIV.

A. D. 1407.

BUT at length the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, ſeemingly moved by the cries of the nation, and ſwayed by the interpoſition of common friends, agreed to bury all paſt quarrels in oblivion, and enter into a league of mutual amity. They ſwore before the altar to the ſincerity of this friendſhip: the prieſt adminiſtered the ſacrament to both of them; and they gave to each other every pledge that could be deemed ſacred among men. All this ſolemn preparation, however, appears to have been only a cover for the baſeſt treachery, deliberately premeditated by the duke of Burgundy. He had hired ruffians, who aſſaſſinated his rival in the ſtreets of Paris[5]. The author of the crime was for ſome days unknown, as the aſſaſſins eſcaped, and the duke endeavoured to conceal the part which he had taken in it; but being detected, he embraced a reſolution ſtill more criminal, and more dangerous to ſociety. He openly avowed and juſtified the action.

THIS cauſe was brought before the parliament of Paris; and that auguſt tribunal of juſtice heard the harangues of the duke of Burgundy's advocate in defence of aſſaſſination, which he denominated tyrannicide, without pronouncing any ſentence of condemnation againſt the deteſtable doctrine. The ſame queſtion was afterwards agitated before the council of Conſtance; and it was with difficulty that a feeble deciſion in favour of the contrary opinion, was ob-

5. Le Laboureur, liv. xxvii. Monſtrelet, chap. xxxix. The murder of the duke of Orleans is ſaid, by ſome authors, to have been occaſioned chiefly by his own inſolence and licentiouſneſs. (Duhaillan. Brantome.) Having ſucceeded in an amour with the ducheſs of Burgundy, he had the effrontery to introduce her huſband into a cabinet hung with the portraits of the women he had enjoyed, among which hers occupied a diſtinguiſhed place. Burgundy concealed his emotion, but thirſted for revenge. Ibid.

PART I. A. D. 1407.

tained from thoſe fathers of the church, the miniſters of the Prince of Peace [6].

BUT the miſchievous effects of that tenet, had they been before anywiſe doubtful, appeared ſufficiently from the ſubſequent incidents. The commiſſion of this crime, which deſtroyed all truſt and ſecurity, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and cut off every means of peace and accommodation. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, ſeized ſometimes by one party, ſometimes by another, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were laid waſte by mutual depredations: aſſaſſinations were every where committed, from the animoſity of the ſeveral leaders; or, what was equally terrible, executions were ordered, without any legal trial, by pretended courts of judicature.

THE whole kingdom was diſtinguiſhed into two parties, the Burgundians, and the Armagnacs; for ſo the adherents of the young duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince. The city of Paris, diſtracted between them, but inclining more to the Burgundians, was a perpetual ſcene of blood and violence. The king and royal family were often detained captives in the hands of the populace: their miniſters were butchered or

6. Monſtrelet, ubi ſup. Bulay, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. v. Mild as this cenſure was, pope Martin V. refuſed to ratify it, being afraid of diſpleaſing the duke of Burgundy. (Id. ibid.) The univerſity of Paris, more juſt and leſs timid, boldly condemned the atrocious doctrine and its author. Bulay, ubi ſup.

im-

LETTER XLIV.

impriſoned before their eyes; and it was dangerous for any man, amid theſe enraged factions, to be diſtinguiſhed by a ſtrict adherence to the principles of probity and honour.

DURING this ſcene of general violence, there aroſe into ſome conſideration a body of men, which uſually makes no figure in public tranſactions even during the moſt peaceful times; namely, the heads of the univerſity of Paris, whoſe opinion was ſometimes demanded, and more frequently offered, in the multiplied diſputes between the parties. The ſchiſm by which the church was at that time divided, and which occaſioned frequent controverſies in the univerſity, had raiſed the profeſſors to an unuſual degree of importance; and this connection between literature and religion, had beſtowed on the former a conſequence, which reaſon and knowledge have ſeldom been able to obtain among men. But there was another ſociety, whoſe ſentiments were ſtill more deciſive at Paris, the fraternity of butchers; who, under the direction of their ringleaders, had declared for the duke of Burgundy, and committed the moſt violent outrages againſt the oppoſite party. In order to counterbalance this power, the Armagnacs made intereſt with the fraternity of carpenters: the populace ranged themſelves on the one ſide or the other; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either party [7].

THE advantage which might be taken of theſe confuſions, was eaſily perceived in England; and, according to the maxims which uſually prevail among

7. Bulay Juv. des Urſins. P. Æmil. P. Henault.

PART I. tions, it was determined to lay hold of the favourable opportunity. Henry IV. who was courted by both the French parties, fomented the quarrel, by alternately ſending aſſiſtance to each; and his ſon, Henry V. impelled by the vigour of youth, and the ardour of ambition, determined to puſh his advantages to a
A. D. 1415. greater length, and to carry war into the heart of France. In conſequence of this reſolution he aſſembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, and invited all the military men in the kingdom to attend him. But before I ſpeak of the ſucceſs of that enterprize, I muſt ſay a few words of the reign of Henry V. prior to this period.

LETTER XLV.

ENGLAND *and* FRANCE, *from the Invaſion of the latter Kingdom by* HENRY V. *to the Death of* CHARLES VI.

LETTER XLV. THE precarious ſituation of Henry IV. with whoſe character, my dear Philip, you are already acquainted, had ſo much infected his temper with jealouſy, that he entertained unreaſonable ſuſpicions with regard to the loyalty of his eldeſt ſon; and, during the latter years of his life, he excluded that prince from all ſhare in public buſineſs. The active ſpirit of young Henry, reſtrained from its proper exerciſe, broke out in extravagances of every kind. The riot of pleaſure, the frolic of debauchery, and the outrage of intoxication, filled the vacancies of a mind better adapted to the purſuits of ambition and the cares of government. Such a courſe of life natu-

naturally threw him among companions very unbecoming his rank, but whoſe irregularities, if accompanied with gallantry and humour, he ſeconded and indulged. And he was detected in many ſallies, which, to ſevere eyes, appeared totally unworthy of his ſtation [1].

BUT the nation in general conſidered the young prince with more indulgence. They obſerved ſo many gleams of generoſity, ſpirit, and magnanimity breaking continually through the cloud, which a wild conduct threw over his character, that they never ceaſed hoping for his amendment. And the firſt ſteps taken by young Henry, after the death of his father, confirmed all thoſe prepoſſeſſions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions; A.D. 1413. acquainted them with his intended reformation; exhorted them to imitate his example; but ſtrictly prohibited them, until they had given proofs of their amendment, from appearing any more in his preſence: while the wiſe miniſters of his father, who had checked his riots, were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. They found that they had unknowingly been paying the higheſt court to him [2]. The ſatisfaction of thoſe who feared an oppoſite conduct, was augmented by their ſurprize; ſo that the character of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been ſhaded by any errors.

HENRY's firſt care was to baniſh, as much as poſſible, all party diſtinctions. The inſtruments of the violences of the preceding reign, who had been advanced from their blind zeal for the Lancaſtrian in-

1. Walſingham. Hall. Holingſhed.
2. Hall. Holingſhed. Hume, chap. xix. Godwin, *Life of Hen. V.*

PART I. A.D. 1414.

tereſt, more than from their integrity or abilities, gave place every where to men of more honourable characters; and virtue and talents ſeemed now to have a ſpacious field, in which they might diſplay themſelves to advantage. One party diſtinction however remained, which the popularity of Henry was not able to overcome. The Lollards, or diſciples of Wickliffe, faſt increaſing in the kingdom, were become a formidable body, which appeared dangerous to the church, and even to the civil power

THE head of this ſect was Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military talents, and who had, on many occaſions, acquired the eſteem both of the late and of the preſent king. His high character, and zeal for the new ſect, pointed him out to Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of eccleſiaſtical ſeverity. The primate accordingly applied to the king for permiſſion to indite lord Cobham. The generous nature of Henry was averſe from ſuch ſanguinary methods of converſion; but after trying all gentle means in vain, and finding that nobleman obſtinate in his opinions, he gave full reins to prieſtly vengeance againſt the inflexible ſectary. Cobham was con-

A.D. 1415. demned to the flames, but made his eſcape from the Tower before the day appointed for his execution. Provoked by perſecution, and ſtimulated by zeal, he was now incited to attempt thoſe criminal meaſures formerly imputed to him. The king was informed of his deſigns: his followers were every where perſecuted; and he himſelf, after a variety of diſtreſſes, was ſeized and hanged as a traitor, and his body was burnt on the gibbet, in conſequence of the ſentence pronounced againſt him as a heretic [3].

3. Walſingham. Otterburn. Holingſhed.

THE

THE Lollards, being thus ſuppreſſed, Henry had leiſure to conſider the dying injunction of his father, not to let the Engliſh remain long in peace, which was apt to breed inteſtine commotions, but to employ them in foreign expeditions; by which the prince might acquire honour, the nobility, in ſharing his dangers, attach themſelves to his perſon, and all the reſtleſs ſpirits find occupation for their inquietude. The natural diſpoſition of Henry ſufficiently inclined him to follow this advice, and the civil diſorders of France, as you have already ſeen, opened a full career for his ambition. He accordingly ſet ſail from Southampton, the place of general rendezvous, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of ſix thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand foot, moſtly archers. A. D. 1415.

THE king of England, on landing, immediately inveſted Harfleur; which was taken by aſſault, after a ſiege of ſix weeks, and the garriſon put to the ſword. The fatigue of this ſiege, however, and the unuſual heat of the ſeaſon, had ſo much waſted the Engliſh army, that Henry could enter on no further enterprize, and was obliged to think of returning to England. He had diſmiſſed his tranſports, which could not ſafely anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coaſt; ſo that he lay under the neceſſity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of ſafety. Nor was this all. A French army of fourteen thouſand men at arms, and forty thouſand foot, was already aſſembled in Normandy under the conſtable d'Albert; a force, if rightly managed, ſufficient either to trample down the Engliſh in the open field, or to harraſs and reduce to nothing their ſmall body, before they could finiſh ſo long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, prudently offered to ſacrifice his con-

PART I. A.D. 1415. conqueſt of Harfleur for a ſafe paſſage to Calais; but his propoſal being rejected by the French court, he determined to make his way by valour and policy through all the oppoſition of the enemy. And that he might not diſcourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expoſe them to thoſe hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made ſlow and deliberate journies [4].

BUT notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the Engliſh monarch was continually harraſſed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; and when he approached the Somme, he ſaw bodies of troops on the oppoſite bank, ready to obſtruct his paſſage. His proviſions were cut off: his ſoldiers languiſhed under ſickneſs and fatigue; and his ſituation ſeemed altogether deſperate. In this extremity, he was ſo fortunate as to ſeize an unguarded ford, over which he ſafely carried his army, and bent his march towards Calais. But he was ſtill expoſed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had alſo paſſed the Somme, and threw themſelves full in his way, with a deſign of intercepting his retreat. The whole French army was drawn up in the plains of Azincour, or Agincourt, and poſted in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for the king of England to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement.

NOTHING in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which the ſafety and fortune of Henry now depended. The Engliſh army conſiſted of little more than half the number, which had diſembarked at Harfleur: and the troops laboured

4. Le Laboureur. T. Livii. T. Walſingham.

under

under every diſcouragement and neceſſity. The enemy was four times more numerous, headed by the Dauphin and all the princes of the blood, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions. Henry's ſituation was exactly ſimilar to that of Edward III. at the battle of Creſſy, and of the Black Prince at that of Poictiers; and the memory of theſe great events inſpired the Engliſh with courage, and made them hope for a like deliverance from their preſent difficulties. The king alſo obſerved the ſame prudent conduct, which had been followed by thoſe great commanders. He drew up his army on a narrow ground, between two woods, which guarded each flank: and in that poſture he patiently waited the attack of the enemy. LETTER XLV. A. D. 1415.

HAD the French commander been able to reaſon juſtly on the circumſtances of the two armies, or to profit by paſt experience, he would have declined a combat, and have waited till neceſſity had obliged the Engliſh to advance, and relinquiſh the advantages of their ſituation; but the impetuous valour of the French nobility, and a vain confidence in ſuperior numbers, made him hazard an action, which proved the ſource of infinite calamities to his country. The French archers on horſeback, and their men at arms, advanced precipitantly on the Engliſh archers, who had fixed paliſades in their front to break the impreſſion of the enemy, and who ſafely plied them, from behind that defence, with a ſhower of arrows which nothing could reſiſt. The clayey ſoil, moiſtened by rain, proved another obſtruction to the force of the French cavalry. The wounded men and horſes diſcompoſed their ranks; the narrow compaſs in which they were pent, prevented them from recovering any order; the whole army was a ſcene of confuſion, terror,

PART I. A.D. 1415.

ror, and diſmay; when Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the Engliſh archers, who were light and unincumbered, to advance upon the enemy, and ſeize the moment of victory. They accordingly fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who were now incapable of either flying or defending themſelves, and hewed them in pieces without obſtruction. Seconded by the men at arms, who alſo puſhed on againſt the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, diſmounted, and overthrown. Every appearance of oppoſition being now over, the Engliſh had leiſure to make priſoners; but having advanced to the open plain, they there ſaw the remains of the French rear-guard, which ſtill maintained the form of a line of battle. At the ſame time they heard an alarm from behind. Some gentlemen of Picardy, having collected about ſix hundred peaſants, had fallen upon the Engliſh baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. On this alarm Henry began to entertain apprehenſions from his priſoners, and he thought it neceſſary to iſſue general orders for putting them to death; but on diſcovering the truth, he ſtopped the ſlaughter, and great numbers of thoſe unhappy men were ſaved [5].

No victory was ever more honourable, or more complete than this of Azincour. The loſs of the French was incredibly great. The conſtable d'Albert, and ſeven princes of the blood, were ſlain; five princes were taken priſoners, together with fourteen thouſand perſons of different ranks; and above ten thouſand Frenchmen were left dead on the field

5. T. Elmham. T. Levii. T. Walſingham.

of

of battle.[6]. Yet this victory, ſo fatal to France, was more oſtentatious than uſeful to the conquerors, though their loſs was very inconſiderable. Henry was obliged to return to England, in order to raiſe a freſh ſupply of men and money; and it was not till after an interval of two years, that any body of Engliſh troops appeared again in France. A.D. 1415.

In the mean-time France was expoſed to all the furies of civil war; and the ſeveral parties became every day more enraged againſt each other. The duke of Burgundy, who had been worſted by his antagoniſts, attempted to re-inſtate himſelf in poſſeſſion of the government, as well as of the perſon of the king: and ſome quarrels in the royal family, enabled him to carry his ſcheme into execution. Louis Bois-Bourdon, favourite to queen Iſabella, after the death of the elder duke of Orleans, having been accuſed by the count d'Armagnac of a commerce of gallantry with that princeſs, had been put to the torture, and afterwards thrown into the Seine, in conſequence of his forced but indiſcreet confeſſion. The queen herſelf was ſent to Tours, and confined under a guard. After ſuffering theſe multiplied inſults, ſhe no longer ſcrupled to enter into a correſpondence with the duke of Burgundy, though hitherto an enemy to that prince; and as her ſon Charles, the dauphin, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, ſhe extended her animoſity even to him, and ſought his deſtruction with the moſt unrelenting hatred[7]. She had ſoon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural purpoſe in ſome meaſure effectual. A.D. 1416.

The duke of Burgundy entered France at the head of a great army of Flemings; over-ran moſt part of

6. Ibid. 7. St. Remi. Monſtrelet.

the

PART I. the kingdom, and relieved the queen from her confinement. At the ſame time the duke's partizans
A. D. 1416. raiſed a commotion in Paris, which always inclined to the Burgundian faction; the perſon of the king
A. D. 1417. was ſeized; the dauphin made his eſcape with difficulty; great numbers of the Armagnac faction were inſtantly butchered; the count himſelf, and many perſons of note, were thrown into priſon; and the populace, deeming the courſe of public juſtice too dilatory, broke into the priſons, and put to death that nobleman, and all the other noblemen, who were there confined [8].

WHILE France was thus rent in pieces by civil diſſenſions, Henry V. having recruited his forces and finances, landed in Normandy at the head of
A. D. 1418. twenty-five thouſand men, and carried every thing before him. When the pope's legate attempted to incline him towards peace, he replied, "Do you not "ſee, that God has led me hither as by the hand? "France has no ſovereign: I have juſt pretenſions to "that kingdom: every thing here is in the utmoſt "confuſion: no one thinks of reſiſting me. Can I "have a more ſenſible proof, that the Being who diſ-"poſes of empires has determined to put the crown "of France upon my head [9]?"—Such has ever been the language of force; to which weakneſs, crawling in the duſt, has too often liſtened with an ear of credulity. Hence conquerors, while alive, have been conſidered as the ſons of gods, and the delegates of Heaven; and after being conſigned to that earth which they had deſolated, have themſelves been exalted into divinities!

8. Ibid. 9. Juv. des Urſins.

BUT

LETTER XLIV.

BUT although Henry ſeemed ſo fully aſſured of the conqueſt of France, he was induced by prudential motives to negociate with his enemies. He made A. D. 1418. at the ſame time offers of peace to both the French parties; to the queen and the duke of Burgundy, on the one hand, who having poſſeſſion of the king's perſon carried the appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin, on the other, who being the rightful heir of the monarchy, was adhered to by all men who paid any regard to the true intereſts of their country. Theſe two parties alſo carried on a continual negociation with each other; and all things ſeemed ſettled to their mutual ſatisfaction, when the duke of Burgundy was ſlain by the dauphin's party during an interview at Montereau. A. D. 1419.

IN conſequence of this act of barbarity, and the progreſs of Henry's arms, the queen and the new duke of Burgundy, breathing vengeance for the murder of his father, concluded the famous treaty of A. D. 1420. Troye, by which the crown of France was transferred to the houſe of Lancaſter. The principle articles were, That the king of England ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catherine; that her father, Charles VI. ſhould enjoy, during his life-time, the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry V. ſhould be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entruſted with the preſent adminiſtration of the government; that all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities of France, ſhould ſwear, that they would both adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and pay him preſent obedience as regent; and that this prince ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of the French king and the duke of Burgundy, in order to

PART I. A.D. 1420. ſubdue the adherents of Charles the *pretended* dauphin [10].

A FEW days after the ſigning of this treaty Henry eſpouſed the princeſs Catherine. He carried his father-in-law to Paris; he put himſelf in poſſeſſion of that capital, and he obtained from the parliament and the three eſtates a ratification of the treaty of Troye. He ſupported the duke of Burgundy in procuring a ſentence againſt the murderers of his father; and he turned his arms with ſucceſs againſt the adherents of the dauphin; who, as ſoon as he heard of the treaty of Troye, took on him the ſtyle and authority
A. D. 1421. of Regent, and appealed to God and his ſword for the maintenance of his title. But notwithſtanding the bravery and fidelity of his officers, Charles ſaw himſelf unequal to his enemies in the field; and found it neceſſary to temporiſe, and avoid all hazardous actions with a rival who had acquired ſo manifeſt a ſuperiority.

To crown all the other proſperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a ſon, who was called by his father's name, and whoſe birth was celebrated by rejoicings no leſs pompous, or leſs ſincere, at Paris than at London. The infant prince ſeemed to be univerſally regarded as the heir of both monarchies. But the glory of Henry, when near its height, was ſuddenly reſtrained by the hand of nature, and all his towering projects vaniſhed into air. He was ſeized with a malady which the ſurgeons of that age wanted ſkill to treat with judgment; namely, a fiſtula, which proved mortal. When he found his end approaching, he ſent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the

10. Rymer, vol. ix. St. Remi. Monſtrelet.

earl

earl of Warwick, and a few more noblemen, whom he had honoured with his confidence. To them he delivered, in great compoſure, his laſt will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He left the regency of France to his eldeſt brother, the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger brother, the duke of Glouceſter, and the care of his ſon's perſon to the earl of Warwick [11]. A. D. 1422.

HENRY V. poſſeſſed many eminent virtues, and his abilities were equally conſpicuous in the cabinet and the field. The boldneſs of his plans was no leſs remarkable than his perſonal valour in carrying them into execution. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by addreſs and clemency. His exterior figure, as well as his deportment, was engaging; his ſtature ſomewhat above the middle ſize; his countenance beautiful, his proportions elegant; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exerciſes [12].

IN leſs than two months after Henry's death, his father-in-law, Charles VI. of France terminated his unhappy life. He had for many years poſſeſſed only the ſhadow of royalty; yet was this mere appearance of conſiderable advantage to the Engliſh: it divided the duty and affections of the French between the king and the dauphin, who was now crowned at Poictiers, under the name of Charles VII. Rheims, the uſual place of ſuch ceremony, being then in the hands of his enemies.

CATHERINE of France, widow of Henry V. married ſoon after his death Sir Owen Tudor, a gentle-

11. Ibid. 12. T. Livii.

PART I. A. D. 1422.

man of Wales, ſaid to be deſcended from the ancient princes of that country. She bore him two ſons; the eldeſt of whom was created earl of Richmond, the ſecond earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, firſt raiſed to diſtinction by this alliance, afterwards mounted, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, the throne of England.

LETTER XLVI.

The Affairs of FRANCE *and* ENGLAND *continued, from the Acceſſion of* CHARLES VII. *to the Expulſion of the* ENGLISH *from their Continental Poſſeſſions, in* 1453.

A. D. 1422.

IN conſidering with a ſuperficial eye, the ſtate of affairs between France and England at the acceſſion of Charles VII. every advantage ſeems to lie on the ſide of the latter kingdom; and the total expulſion of Charles appears an event which might naturally be expected from the ſuperior power of his competitor. Though Henry VI. was yet in his infancy, the duke of Bedford, the moſt accompliſhed prince of his age, was intruſted with the adminiſtration. And the experience, prudence, valour, and generoſity of the regent, qualified him for his high office, and enabled him both to maintain union among his friends, and to gain the confidence of his enemies. But Charles VII. notwithſtanding the preſent inferiority of his power, poſſeſſed ſome advantages which promiſed him ſucceſs. As he was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy, all Frenchmen who knew the intereſts, or deſired the independency of their native country, turned their eyes towards him as

its ſole reſource: and Charles himſelf was of a character well calculated to become the object of theſe benevolent ſentiments. He was a prince of the moſt friendly and benign diſpoſition; of eaſy and familiar manners; and of a juſt and ſound, though not a very vigorous underſtanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged from affection the ſervices of his followers, even while his low fortune might have made it their intereſt to deſert him; and the lenity of his temper could pardon thoſe ſallies of diſcontent, to which princes in his ſituation are naturally expoſed. The love of pleaſure often ſeduced him into indolence; but, amid all his irregularities, the goodneſs of his heart ſtill ſhone forth: and by exerting, at intervals, his courage and activity, he proved that his general remiſſneſs proceeded neither from the want of ambition nor of perſonal valour [1]. LETTER XLVI. A.D. 1422.

SENSIBLE of theſe advantages on the ſide of Charles, the duke of Bedford took care to ſtrengthen the Engliſh intereſt by freſh alliances with the dukes of Burgundy and Britanny; and obſerving the ardour of the Scots to ſerve in France, where Charles treated them with great honour and diſtinction, he perſuaded the Engliſh council to form an alliance with James I. their priſoner; to free that prince from his long captivity, and to connect him with England, by marrying him to a daughter of the earl of Somerſet, and couſin to the young king. The alliance was accordingly formed: James was reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors; and proved, during his ſhort reign, one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that had ever A.D. 1423.

1. P. Æmil. Du Tillet. Le Gendre.

PART I. ſwayed the Scottiſh ſceptre. His affections inclined to the party of France; but the Engliſh had never reaſon, while he lived, to complain of any breach of the neutrality by Scotland. He was murdered by his traiterous kinſman the earl of Athol, in 1437.

BEDFORD, however, was not ſo much employed in negociations, as to neglect the operations of war. A. D. 1424. He reduced almoſt every fortreſs on this ſide of the Loire; and the battle of Verneüil, in which the Scots and French were defeated, threatened Charles with the total loſs of his kingdom, when a train of ſingular circumſtances ſaved him on the brink of ruin, and loſt the Engliſh ſuch an opportunity of completing their conqueſts as they were never afterwards able to recall.

INSTEAD of taking every poſſible advantage of the victory gained at Verneüil, or thoſe which he wiſhed, and could not fail to ſee, the duke of Bedford was obliged to go over to England, in order to compoſe ſome diſſenſions among the miniſtry, and to endeavour to moderate the meaſures of his brother, the duke of Glouceſter, who had inconſiderately kindled a war A D. 1425. in the Low Countries, and carried thither the troops deſtined for the reinforcement of the Engliſh army in France. The affections of the duke of Burgundy were alienated, and his forces diverted by the ſame war. The duke of Britanny returned to his allegiance under Charles VII. The French had leiſure to recollect themſelves, and gained ſome inconſiderable advantages. But the regent, ſoon after his return, retrieved the reputation of the Engliſh arms, by humbling the duke of Brittany, and reſolved on an undertaking which he hoped would prepare the way for the final conqueſt of France.

A. D. 1426.

THE city of Orleans was ſo ſituated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and thoſe poſſeſſed by Charles, that it opened an eaſy entrance to either; and as the duke of Bedford intended to make a great effort for penetrating into the ſouth of France, it was neceſſary to begin with the ſiege of this place, now become the moſt important in the kingdom. The French king uſed every expedient to ſupply the city with a garriſon and proviſions, and the Engliſh left no method unemployed for reducing it. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards this ſcene of action, where it was reaſonably ſuppoſed the French were to make their laſt ſtand for maintaining the independency of their monarchy, and the rights of their ſovereign. After numberleſs feats of valour, performed both by the beſiegers and the beſieged, the attack was ſo vigorouſly puſhed by the Engliſh, although the duke of Burgundy had withdrawn his troops in diſguſt, that Charles gave over the city for loſt; and even entertained thoughts of retiring into Languedoc and Dauphiny with the remains of his forces, which were inſufficient to attempt the enemy's entrenchments, and of defending himſelf as long as poſſible in thoſe remote provinces[a]. A.D. 1428.

BUT it was fortunate for that gay prince, who lay entirely under the dominion of the ſofter ſex, that the women whom he conſulted on this occaſion had the ſpirit to ſupport his ſinking reſolution. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princeſs of great merit and prudence, vehemently oppoſed ſuch a meaſure; which ſhe foreſaw would diſcourage all his partizans, and ſerve as a general ſignal for deſerting a prince who A.D. 1429.

a. Monſtrelet. Polyd. Virg. Stow. Hall. Hollingſhed.

PART I. A.D. 1429.

ſeemed himſelf to deſpair of ſucceſs. His miſtreſs too, the fair Agnes Soreille, who lived in perfect amity with the queen, ſeconded all her remonſtrances, and threatened, if he thus puſillanimouſly threw away the ſceptre of France, that ſhe would ſeek in the court of England a fortune more correſpondent to her wiſhes. Love was able to rouſe, in the breaſt of Charles, that courage which ambition had failed to excite. He reſolved to diſpute every inch of ground with an imperious enemy; to periſh with honour, in the midſt of his friends, rather than yield inglorioufly to his bad fortune [3]. And this reſolution was no ſooner formed, than relief was unexpectedly brought him, by another female of a very different character.

In the village of Domremi near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorrain, lived a country girl, whoſe name was Joan d'Arc; and who, in the humble ſtation of ſervant at an inn, had been accuſtomed to tend the horſes of the gueſts; to ride them without a ſaddle to the watering-place, and to perform other offices which commonly fall to the ſhare of men ſervants. This girl, inflamed by the frequent accounts of the rencounters at the ſiege of Orleans, and affected with the diſtreſſes of her country, but more eſpecially with thoſe of the youthful monarch, whoſe gallantry made him the idol of the whole ſex, was ſeized with a wild deſire of bringing relief to her ſovereign in his preſent unhappy circumſtances. Her inexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, miſtook the impulſes of paſſion for heavenly inſpirations; and ſhe fancied that ſhe ſaw viſions, and heard voices exhorting her to re-eſtabliſh

3. Ibid.

the

the throne of France, and expel the foreign invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of ſpirit made her overlook all the dangers which might attend her in ſuch a path; and the apprehenſion of her divine miſſion diſpelled all that baſhfulneſs ſo natural to her ſex, her years, and her low condition. She went to Vaucouleurs, procured admiſſion to Baudricourt the governor, and informed him of her inſpirations and intentions. Baudricourt obſerved ſomething extraordinary in the maid, or ſaw the uſe that might be made of ſuch an engine, and ſent her to the French court, which then reſided at Chinon [4].

JOAN was no ſooner introduced to the king than ſhe offered, in the name of the Supreme Creator, to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed: and ſhe demanded, as the inſtrument of her future victories, a particular ſword, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois. The more the king and his miniſters were determined to give into the illuſion, the more ſcruples they pretended. An aſſembly of grave and learned divines was appointed to examine Joan's miſſion, and pronounced it undoubted and ſupernatural; the parliament alſo atteſted her inſpiration; and a jury of matrons declared her an unſpotted virgin. Her requeſts were now granted. She was armed cap-à-pie, mounted on horſeback, and ſhewn in that martial habiliment to the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her ſteed, though acquired in her former ſtation, was regarded as a freſh proof of her miſſion: her former occupation was even denied; ſhe was converted into a ſhepherdeſs, an em-

4. Hall. Monſtrelet.

PART I. A.D. 1429.

ployment more agreeable to the imagination than that of an oſtler-wench. Some years were ſubtracted from her age, in order to excite ſtill more admiration; and ſhe was received with the loudeſt acclamations, by perſons of all ranks [5]. A ray of hope began to break through that cloud of deſpair in which the minds of men were involved. Heaven had now declared itſelf in favour of France, and laid bare its outſtretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders.

THE Engliſh at firſt affected to ſpeak with deriſion of the Maid and her heavenly commiſſion; but their imagination was ſecretly ſtruck with the ſtrong perſuaſion, which prevailed in all around them. They found their courage daunted by degrees, and thence began to infer a divine vengeance hanging over them. A ſilent aſtoniſhment reigned among thoſe troops, formerly ſo elated with victory, and ſo fierce for the combat. The maid entered the city of Orleans at the head of a convoy, arrayed in her military garb, and diſplaying her conſecrated ſtandard. She was received as a celeſtial deliverer by the garriſon and inhabitants; and by the inſtructions of count Dunois, commonly called the Baſtard of Orleans, who commanded in the place, ſhe actually obliged the Engliſh to raiſe the ſiege of that city, after driving them from their entrenchments, and defeating them in ſeveral deſperate attacks [6].

THE raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans was one part of the Maid's promiſe to Charles, the crowning him at Rheims was the other; and ſhe now vehemently inſiſted, that he ſhould ſet out immediately on that journey. A few weeks before, ſuch a propoſal would

5. Ibid. 6. Monſtrelet. Villar.

have

have appeared altogether extravagant. Rheims lay in a diſtant quarter of the kingdom; was then in the hands of a victorious enemy; the whole road that led to it was occupied by their garriſons; and no imagination could have been ſo ſanguine as to hope that ſuch an attempt could poſſibly be carried into execution. But as things had now taken a turn, and it was extremely the intereſt of the king of France to maintain the belief of ſomething extraordinary and divine in theſe events, he reſolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike propheteſs, and avail himſelf of the preſent conſternation of the Engliſh. He accordingly ſet out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thouſand men, and ſcarcely perceived, as he paſſed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. Every place opened its gates to him: Rheims ſent him its keys; and the ceremony of his inauguration was performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon is ſaid to have brought from heaven to Clovis, on the firſt eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy [7].

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A.D. 1429.

CHARLES, thus crowned and anointed, became more reſpectable in the eyes of all his ſubjects: and he ſeemed to derive, from a heavenly commiſſion, a new title to their allegiance. Many places ſubmitted to him immediately after his coronation, and the whole nation was diſpoſed to give him the moſt zealous teſtimonies of duty and affection.

A.D. 1430.

THE duke of Bedford, in this dangerous criſis, employed every reſource which fortune had yet left him. He acted with ſo much prudence and addreſs, as to renew his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, who had been long wavering in his fidelity. He ſeemed pre-

7. Ibid.

ſent

PART. I. A. D. 1430.

ſent every where, by his vigilance and foreſight; and although his ſupplies from England were very inconſiderable, he attempted to reſtore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing to face the enemy. But he choſe his poſts with ſo much caution, as always to decline a combat, and to render it impoſſible for the French monarch to attack him. He ſtill attended that prince in all his movements, covered his own towns and garriſons, and kept himſelf in a poſture to reap advantage from every imprudence or falſe ſtep of the enemy. He alſo endeavoured to revive the declining ſtate of his affairs, by bringing over the young king of England, and having him crowned and anointed at Paris. All the vaſſals of the crown, who lived within the provinces poſſeſſed by the Engliſh ſwore a new allegiance, and did homage to Henry VI[8]. But this ceremony was cold and inſipid, in compariſon of the coronation of Charles at Rheims; and the duke of Bedford expected more effect from an incident, which put into his hands the author of all his misfortunes.

THE *Maid of Orleans*, as ſhe is called, declared, after the coronation of Charles, that her miſſion was now accompliſhed, and expreſſed her inclination to retire to the occupations and courſe of life which became her ſex. But Dunois, ſenſible of the great advantages which might ſtill be reaped from her preſence in the army, exhorted her to perſevere till the final expulſion of the Engliſh. In purſuance of this advice, ſhe threw herſelf into the town of Compeigne, at that time beſieged by the duke of Burgundy, aſſiſted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. The garriſon

8. Rymer, vol. x.

on

on her appearance believed themſelves invincible. But their joy was of ſhort duration. The maid was taken priſoner in a ſally; and the duke of Bedford, reſolved upon her ruin, ordered her to be tried by an eccleſiaſtical court for ſorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. She was found guilty by her ignorant or iniquitous judges, of all theſe crimes, aggravated by hereſy; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and this admirable heroine was cruelly delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated by the puniſhment of fire, the ſignal ſervices which ſhe had rendered to her prince and her native country [9]. A.D. 1431.

THE Engliſh affairs, however, inſtead of being advanced by this act of cruelty, went every day more and more to decay. The great abilities of the regent were unable to reſtrain the ſtrong inclination which had ſeized the French of returning under the obedience of their rightful ſovereign. The duke of Burgundy deſerted the Engliſh intereſt, and formed an alliance with the French king; the duke of Bedford died ſoon after, and the violent factions which prevailed in the court of England, between the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter, prevented the nation from taking proper meaſures for repairing theſe ſignal loſſes, A.D. 1435.

IN proportion as Henry advanced in years, his feeble character became more fully known in the court, and was no longer ambiguous to either faction. Of the moſt harmleſs, inoffenſive, ſimple manners, but of the moſt ſlender capacity, he was fitted, both by the

9. Polyd. Virg. Monſtrelet.

ſoft-

PART I. ſoftneſs of his temper, and the weakneſs of his underſtanding, to be perpetually governed by thoſe who ſurrounded him; and it was eaſy to foreſee, that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had
A. D. 1442. now reached the age of manhood, it was natural to think of chuſing him a queen: and each party was ambitious of making him receive one from their hand, as it was probable this circumſtance would decide for ever the victory between them. The cardinal of Wincheſter proved ſucceſsful; and Henry was contracted to Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem, deſcended from a count of Anjou, who had left theſe magnificent titles to his poſterity, without any real power or poſſeſſions. She was the moſt accompliſhed princeſs of that age both in body and mind; and ſeemed to poſſeſs thoſe qualities, which would enable her to acquire an aſcendant over Henry, and to ſup-
A. D. 1443. ply all his defects and weakneſſes. The treaty of marriage was ratified in England: and Margaret, on her arrival, fell immediately into cloſe connections with the cardinal and his party; who, fortified by her powerful patronage, reſolved on the final ruin of the duke of Glouceſter [10].

THIS generous prince, worſted in all court intrigues, for which his temper was not ſuited, but poſſeſſing in an eminent degree the favour of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification; which it was impoſſible a perſon of his ſpirit could ever forgive, although he had hitherto borne it, without violating public peace. His ducheſs, the daughter of Richard lord Cobham, had been accuſed

10. Grafton. Hollingſhed.

of

LETTER XLVI.

of the crime of witchcraft; and it was pretended, that there was found in her poſſeſſion a waxen figure of the king, which ſhe and her aſſociates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a prieſt, and one Mary Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a ſlow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waſte away by the like inſenſible degrees. The nature of this crime, as the philoſophic Hume ingeniouſly obſerves, ſo oppoſite to all common ſenſe, ſeems always to exempt the accuſers from obſerving the rules of common ſenſe in their evidence. The priſoners were pronounced guilty: the ducheſs was condemned to do public penance, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment; and her ſuppoſed accomplices were executed. But the people, contrary to their uſual practice on ſuch marvelous trials, acquitted the unhappy ſufferers, and aſcribed theſe violent proceedings ſolely to the malice of the duke's enemies. The cardinal of Wincheſter and his party, therefore, became ſenſible that it was neceſſary to deſtroy a man whoſe popularity made him dangerous, and whoſe reſentment they had ſo much cauſe to apprehend. He was accuſed of treaſon, and thrown into priſon, where he was ſoon after found dead in bed; and although his body bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies[11]. A. D. 1443. A. D. 1447.

WHILE England was thus a prey to faction, the king of France employed himſelf, with great induſtry and judgment, in removing thoſe numberleſs ills, to which France had been ſo long expoſed, from the continuance of wars both foreign and domeſtic. He reſtored the regular courſe of public juſtice; he introduced

11. Grafton. Stowe. Hollingſhed.

PART I. troduced order into the finances; he eſtabliſhed diſcipline among his troops; he repreſſed faction in his court; he revived the languid ſtate of agriculture and the arts; and in the courſe of a few years, rendered his kingdom flouriſhing within itſelf, and formidable to its neighbours. The Engliſh were expelled from
A.D. 1453. all their poſſeſſions on the continent, except Calais; and although no peace or truce was yet concluded between the two nations, the war was in a manner at an end[12]. England, torn in pieces by civil diſſenſions, made but one more feeble effort for the recovery of Guienne. And Charles occupied at home in regulating the government of his kingdom, and fencing againſt the intrigues of his ſon Lewis, ſcarcely ever attempted to avail himſelf of her inteſtine broils. The affairs of the two kingdoms therefore became for a while diſtinct. But before I carry farther the hiſtory of either, we muſt take a view of the ſtate of the German empire, from the death of Sigiſmund to the acceſſion of Maximilian.

12. Monſtrelet. Henault. Graſton. Hollingſhed.

LETTER

LETTER XLVII.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies,* ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Death of* SIGISMUND *to the Acceſſion of* MAXIMILIAN.

SIGISMUND, my dear Philip, was ſucceeded in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and alſo in the empire, as I have already obſerved, by his ſon-in law, Albert II. duke of Auſtria. The only enterprize of moment, in which this prince was engaged, during his ſhort reign, was an expedition againſt the Turks in Bulgaria, where he was ſeized with a violent dyſentery, before any action took place, and died at the village of Long, in his return to Vienna[1]. LETTER XLVII. A. D. 1438. A. D. 1439.

ALBERT was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by his couſin Frederic of Auſtria, the third emperor of that name. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia were ſettled on Ladiſlaus, Albert's infant ſon, who was committed to the guardianſhip of Frederic.

THE emperor's firſt care was to heal a ſchiſm, which had rent anew the church. With this view he ſet out for Baſil, where a council was aſſembled for "the "reformation of the church univerſal, both in its "head and its members," conformable to a reſolution of the council of Conſtance: and that council had raiſed to the papacy Amadeus duke of Savoy, under the name of Felix V. in oppoſition to Eugenius IV. A. D. 1440.

1. Heiſs, liv. iii. chap. i.

who

PART I. A. D. 1440.

who had attempted to defeat the purpoſe of their meeting. Frederic exhorted the fathers to concord, and an accommodation with Eugenius. He had alſo an interview with Felix, whom he refuſed to acknowledge for pope, though tempted by an offer of his daughter, a young princeſs of exquiſite beauty, and two hundred thouſand ducats as her portion. "This "man," ſaid Frederick to one of his courtiers, in a contemptuous tone, "would fain purchaſe holineſs, "if he could find a ſeller." The ſchiſm was at length, however, happily cloſed by the reſignation of Felix, who was prevailed upon by the emperor to abdicate the apoſtolic chair on certain conditions, which were confirmed by Nicholas V. who had ſucceeded Eugenius [2].

THE peace of the church being thus reſtored, and the affairs of Germany in tolerable order, Frederick began to turn his eyes towards Italy, where the imperial authority was gone to utter decay. Alphonſo of Arragon reigned at that time in Naples, and joined the emperor, becauſe he feared the power of the Venetians, who were maſters of Ravenna, Bergamo, Breſcia, and Cremona. Milan was in the hands of Francis Sforza, a peaſant's ſon, but one of the greateſt warriors of his age, and now become the moſt powerful man in Italy. He had married Blanche Maria, natural daughter of Philip Maria Galeazo, duke of Milan, by whom he was adopted. Florence was in league with the pope againſt Sforza; the Holy See had recovered Bologna; and all the other principalities belonged to different ſovereigns, who had maſtered them [3]. In this ſituation were the affairs of

2. Georgii, *Vit. Nicol. V.* Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iii. Æn. Sylv. *Vit. Fred. III.*

3. *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

Italy,

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Italy, when the emperor reſolved upon a journey to Rome, in order to be crowned by the pope, together with Eleanora, ſiſter of the king of Portugal, to whom he was contracted in marriage, and whom he promiſed to meet at Sienna. A. D. 1451.

As ſoon as Frederic had croſſed the Alps, he was met by the Venetian ambaſſadors, who conducted him to their city, where he made his public entry with great magnificence. He thence repaired to Ferrara, where he found ambaſſadors from Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, inviting him to return by that city, where he ſhould receive the iron crown; and here he alſo received deputies from Florence and Bologna, craving the honour of entertaining him at their reſpective cities, which he accordingly viſited[4]. From Florence the emperor took the route of Sienna, where he was joined by the princeſs Eleanora. And in that city he gave audience to the pope's legates, who repeſented to him, that, by ancient cuſtom, the emperors always took an oath to the pope before they entered the territories of St. Peter's Patrimony; and requeſted, that he would conform to the ſame uſage.

FREDERIC, in this particular, complied with the deſire of his Holineſs. The oath which he took was conceived in theſe terms: "I Frederick king of the "Romans, promiſe and ſwear, by the Father, Son, "and Holy Ghoſt, by the wood of the vivifying "croſs, and by theſe reliques of ſaints, that if, by "permiſſion of the Lord, I ſhall come to Rome, I "will exalt the holy Roman church, and his Holi-

4. Machivel, *Hiſt. Flor.* lib. vi.

PART I. A. D. 1451.

"neſs, who preſides over it, to the utmoſt of my "power. Neither ſhall he loſe life, limb, or ho- "nour, by my counſel, conſent, or exhortation. "Nor will I, in the city of Rome, make any law or "decree touching thoſe things which belong to his "Holineſs or the Romans, without the advice of our "moſt holy lord Nicholas. Whatever part of St. "Peter's Patrimony ſhall fall into our hands, we will "reſtore it to his Holineſs: and he, to whom we "ſhall commit the adminiſtration of our kingdom of "of Italy, ſhall ſwear to aſſiſt his Holineſs in de- "fending St. Peter's Patrimony to the utmoſt of his "power. So help me God, and his holy Evange- "liſts [5]."

THE emperor now proceeded to Viterbo, where he was in danger of his life from a tumult of the populace; ſo indifferently attended was this ſucceſſor of Charlemagne!—From Viterbo he repaired to Rome, where he was met by the whole college of cardinals; and as it had been cuſtomary for the late emperors, who went thither to be crowned, to continue ſome time without the walls, Frederic ordered tents to be pitched, and there paſſed one night. He made his public entry next day, when he was crowned king of Lombardy, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the deputies of Milan; he not chuſing to put himſelf in the power of Sforza, who was maſter of that city, and which properly belonged to the empire, the laſt duke having died without legitimate iſſue. Three days after this ceremony, he was married to Eleanora, and together with her received the imperial crown. The A. D. 1452. emperor and the pope next ratified the Concordata

5. Fugger. lib. v.

of

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of the German nation, touching the collation to prelacies and other benefices, which had ſome years before been agreed to by cardinal Carvajal, Nicholas's legate at the imperial court[6]. A. D. 1452.

HAVING thus tranſacted matters at Rome, Frederick ſet out on his return to Germany; and in his paſſage through Ferrara was waited upon by Borſi, marquis of Eſte, a prince of extraordinary merit, whom he created duke of Modena and Reggio[7]. On his arrival in Auſtria, he found himſelf involved in a number of difficulties, out of which he was never able fully to extricate himſelf.

THE Hungarians had often entreated Frederic to ſend home their king Ladiſlaus, whom he ſtill detained at the imperial court, under pretext of being guardian to that young prince: and they had by the moſt earneſt and repeated inſtances, beſought him to reſtore their crown and regalia, which were in his cuſtody. But he found means, under various pretences, to poſtpone his compliance with theſe demands. The Auſtrians, joined by a number of Bohemians, and encouraged by ſeveral princes of the empire, alſo ſent a deputation to expoſtulate with Frederic on the ſame ſubject; and as he lent a deaf ear to their requeſt likewiſe, and amuſed them with freſh evaſions, they had recourſe to arms, and compelled him to ſign an accommodation. It was agreed, That Ladiſlaus, being yet of too tender years to take upon himſelf the government of his kingdoms, ſhould be put under the tuition of Ulric count Celley, his uncle by the mother's ſide, and that the diſpute touching the ward-

6. Barre, tom. vii. Naucler. ſub. ann. 7. Id. Ibid.

PART I. A. D. 1452. ſhip of the emperor ſhould be determined at Vienna [8].

COUNT Celley's ambition was elated by the power which he derived from being tutor to Ladiſlaus. He attempted to make himſelf abſolute maſter in Auſtria: he ſecured the principal fortreſſes, by giving the command of them to his creatures; and he gradually removed Eiſinger, a Bohemian gentleman, who had headed the inſurrection, and the Auſtrian nobility, from all offices of importance. His friends and favourites only were truſted. The people were incenſed at ſuch proceedings; and Eiſinger, profiting by their diſcontent, rouſed their reſentment to ſuch a degree, that the count was obliged to retire into Hungary, after having delivered up the perſon of Ladiſlaus, who conſented to take the oath impoſed upon him by the Bohemians, and was crowned with great
A. D. 1453. ſolemnity at Prague [9].

DURING theſe conteſts the city of Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks, after they had ſubdued the reſt of Greece; and by this blow the Roman empire in the Eaſt was utterly annihilated, as ſhall be related more at length in its proper place. Here it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that the progreſs of the Mahometans alarmed all the princes of Chriſtendom, and made them think of uniting, though too late, in order to oppoſe the common enemy. A diet was convoked at Ratiſbon on this ſubject, and the members unanimouſly agreed, That there was a neceſſity for taking
A.D. 1455. ſome ſpeedy meaſures to ſtop the progreſs of the Infidels. But what theſe meaſures ſhould be, was a con-

8. Æn. Sylv. *Hiſt. Boem.* 9. Id. ibid.

ſider-

ſideration referred to another diet aſſembled at Frankfort; where, although there was a vaſt concourſe of princes, and great appearance of zeal, very little was done for the common cauſe. Other diets were afterwards held for the ſame purpoſe, but with no better ſucceſs; a backwardneſs which was chiefly owing to the timid and ſlothful diſpoſition of the emperor, who would never heartily embark in the undertaking [10]. LETTER XLVII. A.D. 1455.

THE German princes however, at the ſolicitation of Carvajal, the pope's legate, ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of John Hunniades, a famous Hungarian general, who had long gallantly defended his country againſt the Turks, and gained ſeveral advantages over them. Hunniades, thus reinforced, marched to the relief of Belgrade, which was beſieged by Mahomet II. the conqueror of Conſtantinople, and the terror of Chriſtendom; and compelled the ſultan, after an obſtinate engagement, to raiſe the ſiege, and retreat with the loſs of forty thouſand men, left dead on the ſpot [11]. But the death of Hunniades, which happened a few days after the battle, prevented the Chriſtian army from making any progreſs againſt the Infidels. The fruits of their victory, and their future projects, periſhed with their illuſtrious leader. A.D. 1456.

IN the mean time Ladiſlaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia died, and various competitors aroſe for thoſe crowns, as well as for the dominions of Upper Auſtria, which belonged to that prince. Among theſe was the emperor Frederic III. who reaped nothing but damage and diſgrace from a civil war which deſolated: A.D. 1457.

10. Æn. Sylv. *Europ.* 11. Id. Ibid.

PART I. Germany for many years, but which was productive of no event that merits attention. His ſon Maximilian was more fortunate, and better deſerved ſucceſs.

THIS young prince, who was as active and enter-
A.D. 1477. priſing as his father was indolent and timid, married, at twenty years of age, the only daughter of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. She brought him Flanders, Franche-Comté, and all the Low Countries. Lewis XI. who diſputed ſome of theſe territories, and who, on the death of the duke, had ſeized Burgundy, Picardy, Ponthieu, and Artois, as fiefs of France, which could not be poſſeſſed by a woman, was defeated by Maximilian at Guinegaſte; and Charles VIII. who renewed the ſame claims, was ob-
A.D. 1492. liged to conclude a diſadvantageous peace [12].

ABOUT this time died Caſimir IV. king of Poland, and father of Uladiſlaus, who now reigned over Hungary and Bohemia. The death of the Poliſh monarch had been preceded by that of pope Innocent VIII. who was ſucceeded in the papacy by Roderic Borgia, under the name of Alexander VI. Nor did the emperor Frederic III. long ſurvive theſe alterations. He
A.D. 1493. died in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age, and the fifty-fourth of his reign. No emperor had ever reigned longer, and none leſs glorioufly.

THE reign of Maximilian, already elected king of the Romans, introduces a more intereſting period than that over which we have now travelled, and opens a viſta into ſome of the grandeſt ſcenes of hiſtory. But a variety of objects, my dear Philip, muſt occupy your attention before I carry farther the affairs of the empire,

12, Mezeray, *Chronol. Abreg.* tom. ii

LET-

LETTER XLVIII.

ENGLAND during the Conteſt between the Houſes of YORK *and* LANCASTER, *and till its final Extinction in the Acceſſion of the Houſe of* TUDOR.

LETTER XLVIII.

A. D. 1450.

I Have already had occaſion to notice the weakneſs of Henry VI. His incapacity appeared every day in a ſtronger light. The more he was known, the more his authority was deſpiſed; and as the Engliſh had abandoned their dominions in France, and were now engaged in no foreign wars, men of reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirits took occaſion to diſturb his government, and tear with inteſtine commotions the bowels of their native country.

BUT the miſeries of Henry and of England did not ariſe ſolely from theſe cauſes: a pretender to the crown appeared; and a title, which had never been diſputed during the proſperous reign of Henry V. was now called in queſtion under his feeble ſucceſſor. This competitor was Richard duke of York, deſcended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward III. and conſequently ſtood in the order of ſucceſſion before the king, who derived his deſcent from the duke of Lancaſter, third ſon of that monarch.

SUCH a claim could not, in many reſpects, have fallen into more dangerous hands. The duke of York was a man of valour and abilities, which he had found frequent opportunities of diſplaying. In the right of his father, the earl of Cambridge, he bore the rank of firſt prince of the blood; he poſſeſſed an

PART I. A. D. 1450.

immenſe fortune; and was allied by marriage, or otherwiſe, to moſt of the principal families in the kingdom. He was generally beloved by the people; whoſe diſcontents, at this time, rendered every combination of the great more dangerous to the throne.

THE adminiſtration of government was now in the hands of the queen and the earl of Suffolk, who had attracted univerſal odium. Margaret was ſtill regarded as a French woman, and a latent enemy to the kingdom, who had betrayed the intereſts of England, in favour of her family and her country. Suffolk was conſidered as her accomplice; and the murder of the duke of Glouceſter, in which both were known to have been concerned, rendered them yet more obnoxious to the nation.

THE partizans of the duke of York took advantage of theſe cauſes of popular diſcontent, to impeach the earl of Suffolk in parliament of various crimes and miſdemeanours; and the king, in order to ſave his miniſter, baniſhed him the kingdom for five years. But his enemies, ſenſible that he ſtill poſſeſſed the queen's confidence, and would be recalled on the firſt favourable opportunity, employed a captain of a ſhip to intercept him in his paſſage to France. He was accordingly ſeized near Dover; his head was ſtruck off on the ſide of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the ſea [1].

THE duke of Somerſet ſucceeded to Suffolk's power in the adminiſtration, and credit with the queen: and as he was the perſon under whoſe government the French

1. Hall. Stow. Contin. *Hiſt. Croyland.*

pro-

provinces had been loſt, the people, who always judge by events, ſoon made him equally the object of their animoſity. In conſequence of theſe diſcontents, the houſe of commons preſented a petition to the king, praying him to remove the duke of Somerſet for ever from his perſon and counſels; and as Henry fell about this time into a diſtemper which increaſed his natural imbecility, the queen and the council, unable to reſiſt the popular party, were obliged to yield to the torrent. They ſent Somerſet to the Tower, and appointed the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a ſeſſion of parliament: and that aſſembly created him Protector during pleaſure [2]. LETTER XLVIII. A.D. 1453.

In the mean time Henry recovering from his diſtemper, ſo far as to be able to maintain the appearance of royal authority, his friends urged him to reſume the government; to annul the regency of Richard, to releaſe Somerſet from the Tower, and to commit the adminiſtration into the hands of that nobleman. The duke of York, ſenſible of his danger, levied an army, in order to ſupport his parliamentary commiſſion, but without advancing any pretenſions to the crown, though his title was generally acknowledged. A battle was fought near St. Alban's, where the Lancaſtrians were routed, and the dukes of Somerſet and Northumberland ſlain. The king himſelf was made priſoner by the duke of York, who treated him with great tenderneſs: and Henry was obliged to reſign (what he valued little) the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival [3]. A.D. 1455.

2. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. ii. Rymer, vol. xi.

3. Stowe. Hall. Hollingſhed.

Ri-

PART I. RICHARD, however, did not yet lay claim to the royalty: he was ſtill content with the title of Protector; and an outward reconciliation took place be-
A.D. 1458. tween the parties. A ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's was appointed, in order to make known this amity to the people. The duke of York led queen Margaret; and a chieftain of one party marched hand in hand with a chieftain of the oppoſite. But a conteſt for a crown could not be thus peaceably accommodated. Each party watched only for an opportunity of ſubverting the other; and the ſmalleſt incident, without any formed deſign, was ſufficient to diſſolve the ſeeming harmony. Two ſervants of the rival houſes quarrelled: their companions took part in the fray; a fierce combat enſued; and both parties, in every county in England, openly made preparations for deciding the conteſt by arms[4].

A.D. 1459. A BATTLE was fought at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordſhire; where the Lancaſtrians were defeated, and chaſed off the field with conſiderable loſs. But that victory was not ſufficient to decide the fate of England; and fortune ſoon ſhifted ſides. When the two armies approached each other near Ludlow, and a general action was every hour expected, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded a choice body of veterans, deſerted to the king; and the Yorkiſts were ſo much diſmayed at that inſtance of treachery, which made every man ſuſpicious of his fellow, that they ſeparated without ſtriking a blow[5].

IN this extremity the duke of York fled to Ireland, where he had formerly acquired much popularity;

4. Fabian. *Chron.* See alſo Grafton.
5. Grafton. Hall. Hollingſhed.

and his partizans in England kept themſelves every where in readineſs, to riſe on the firſt ſummons from their leaders. That ſummons was given by the earl of Warwick, governor of Calais, the moſt extraordinary man of his time; and, from the ſubſequent events, commonly known by the appellation of the *King-maker*. He landed in Kent, where he was joined by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction; and as the people bore him an unlimited affection, his army increaſed every day. He entered London amid the acclamations of the populace: he advanced to meet the royal army, which haſtened from Coventry to attack him; and a battle was fought at Northampton, where the Lancaſtrians were totally routed. Henry himſelf, that empty ſhadow of a king, was again made priſoner, and once more carried in triumph to his capital [6]. LETTER XLVIII. A. D. 1460.

A PARLIAMENT was now ſummoned at Weſtminſter, where the duke of York ſoon appeared from Ireland, and put in his claim to the crown. He advanced towards the throne; and addreſſing himſelf to the houſe of peers, pleaded his cauſe before them, as his natural and legal judges. He gave them a deduction of his title by deſcent; mentioned the cruelties by which the houſe of Lancaſter had paved its way to ſovereign power; inſiſted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry; and exhorted them to return to the right path, by doing juſtice to the lineal heir; then reſpectfully left the houſe, as no one deſired him to ſeat himſelf on the throne.

SUCH a degree of moderation is not perhaps to be paralleled in hiſtory; and was little to be expected in

6. Ibid.

thoſe

PART I. A.D. 1460.

thoſe violent and licentious times, from a prince who had a victorious army at his command. The peers, on their part, diſcovered an equal ſhare of firmneſs and compoſure. They called in ſome of the moſt conſiderable members among the commons, to aſſiſt in their deliberations: and after having heard, in ſeveral ſucceſſive days, the reaſons alleged for the duke of York, they declared his title certain and indefeaſible; but in conſideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown, without diſpute or controverſy, during a courſe of years, they determined that he ſhould continue to poſſeſs the title and dignity of king during the remainder of his life; that the adminiſtration of government, in the meanwhile, ſhould remain with Richard, and that he ſhould be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy. The duke acquieſced in this deciſion; and Henry himſelf, being a priſoner, could not well oppoſe it [7].

THE duke of York, however, enjoyed but a ſhort while the honour of this new ſettlement, and never attained the envied title of king. After the unfortunate battle of Northampton, queen Margaret had fled with her infant ſon to Durham, and thence to Scotland; but ſoon returning, ſhe applied to the northern barons, and employed every argument to procure their aſſiſtance. Her affability, inſinuation, and addreſs, talents in which ſhe excelled, aided by careſſes and promiſes, wrought a powerful effect on all who approached her. The admiration of her great qualities was ſucceeded by compaſſion towards her help-

7. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. ii. Cotton. Grafton. Hollingſhed. The account of this revolution as here given, and generally received, is contradicted in ſome particulars by J. Wethamſtede, abbot of St. Alban's. But a ſingle authority, how reſpectable ſoever, is not ſufficient to overthrow univerſal teſtimony.

LETTER XLVIII.

less condition. The nobility of that quarter entered warmly into her cause; and she soon found herself at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, collected with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends nor apprehended by her enemies. A. D. 1460.

In the meantime, the duke of York hastened northward with a body of five thousand men, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection. He met the queen near Wakefield; and, though he found himself so much out-numbered by the enemy, his pride would not permit him to fly before a woman. He gave battle, was killed in the action; and Dec. 24. his body being found among the slain, his head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in derision of his pretended title. His second son, the earl of Rutland, was taken prisoner, and barbarously murdered in cool blood by lord Clifford, in revenge of the death of his father, who had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's. The earl of Salisbury also was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded, with several other persons of distinction [9]. This inhuman practice, thus begun, was continued by both parties from a vindictive spirit, which affected to conceal its enormity under the pretence of retaliation.

Immediately after this important victory queen Margaret marched towards London, where the earl of Warwick was left with the command of the Yorkists. On the approach of the Lancastrians, that nobleman led out his army, reinforced by a strong body of Londoners, and gave battle to the queen at St. Alban's.

9. Polyd. Virg. Hollingshed. Stow. Contin. *Hist. Croyland.*

Mar-

PART II. A.D. 1461.

Margaret was again victorious, by the treachery of one Lovelace, who commanded a conſiderable body of the Yorkiſts, and withdrew from the combat. She had the pleaſure of ſeeing the formidable Warwick fly before her, and of reſcuing the king, her huſband, from captivity.

But Margaret's triumph, though glorious, was of ſhort duration, and not altogether complete. Warwick was ſtill in poſſeſſion of London, on which ſhe made an unſucceſsful attempt; and Edward earl of Marche, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of York, having gained an advantage over the Lancaſtrians at Mortimer's Croſs, near Hereford, advanced upon her from the other ſide, and was ſoon in a condition to give her battle with ſuperior forces. She was ſenſible of her danger, in ſuch a ſituation, and retreated with her army to the North; while Edward entered the capital amid the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new ſcene to his party.

This young prince, who was remarkable for the beauty of his perſon, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himſelf ſo high in public favour, that he reſolved no longer to confine himſelf within thoſe narrow limits, which had been found by experience ſo prejudicial to his father's cauſe. He determined to aſſume the name and dignity of king; to inſiſt openly on his claim, and thenceforth to treat the oppoſite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. But a national conſent, or the appearance of it at leaſt, ſeemed neceſſary to precede ſo bold a meaſure; and for this purpoſe, inſtead of convening a parliament, which might have been attended with dangerous conſequences, the populace

populace were aſſembled in St. John's Fields. An harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude by Warwick, ſetting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing againſt the tyranny and uſurpation of the houſe of Lancaſter; after which the people were aſked, whether they would have Henry or Edward for their king. They univerſally exclaimed, "Edward of "York!" This popular election was ratified by an aſſembly of lords and biſhops, and the new king was proclaimed under the title of Edward IV [10].

YOUNG Edward, now in his twentieth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through ſuch a ſcene of war, havock, and devaſtation, as was preſented before him. He was not only bold, active, and enterpriſing, but his hardneſs of heart, and ſeverity of character, rendered him impregnable to all thoſe movements of compaſſion, which might relax his vigour in the proſecution of the moſt bloody deſigns upon his enemies. Hence the ſcaffold, as well as the field, during this reign, inceſſantly ſmoked with the nobleſt blood of England. The animoſity between the two contending families was now become implacable; and the nation, divided in its affections, took different ſymbols of party. The adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter choſe, as their mark of diſtinction, the *Red Roſe*; thoſe of York aſſumed the *White*: and theſe civil wars were thus known over Europe by the name of the "Quarrel between the *Two Roſes*."

QUEEN Margaret, as I have obſerved, had retired to the North. There great multitudes flocked to her ſtandard; and ſhe was able, in a few weeks, to aſſemble

10. Wethamſtede. Hall. Stowe.

PART I. A.D. 1461.

an army of ſixty thouſand men. The king and the earl of Warwick haſtened with an army of forty thouſand, to check her progreſs. The two armies met at Towton, and a fierce and bloody battle enſued. The bow, then commonly in uſe, was ſoon laid aſide, and the ſword decided the combat, which terminated in a total victory on the ſide of the Yorkiſts. Edward iſſued orders to give no quarter; and the routed army was purſued as far as Tadcaſter, with great bloodſhed and confuſion. Above thirty-ſix thouſand men are ſaid to have fallen in the battle and purſuit. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being ſenſible that no place in England could now afford them ſhelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland[11].

I MUST here ſay a few words of the ſtate of that country. The Scots, notwithſtanding the animoſity between the two nations, had never made any vigorous attempts to take advantage either of the wars which England carried on with France, or of the civil commotions which aroſe from the competition for the crown. James I. who had been long a priſoner in England, and had received his education there, as I have had occaſion to notice, avoided all hoſtilities with foreign nations. He was more laudably employed in civilizing his ſubjects, and training them to the ſalutary reſtraints of law and juſtice. After the murder of this excellent prince, whoſe maxims and manners were too refined for the people whom he had to govern, the minority of his ſon and ſucceſſor James II. and the diſtractions incident on it, prevented the

11. Ibid.

Scots

Scots from moleſting England. But when the quarrel between the rival houſes of York and Lancaſter was become incurable, unleſs by the total extinction of one of the parties, James II. who had now riſen to man's eſtate, was tempted to make uſe of that opportunity, in hopes of recovering thoſe places which the Engliſh had conquered from his anceſtors. He inveſted the caſtle of Roxburgh, and had provided himſelf with ſome pieces of cannon in order to forward the ſiege; but one of them unhappily burſting, as he was firing it, put an end at once to his life and his undertaking. His ſon and ſucceſſor, James III. was yet a minor; and the diſturbances common to minorities enſued in the government. The queen dowager, Anne of Guelders, aſpired to the regency; the houſe of Douglas oppoſed her pretenſions [12]: ſo that the queen of England, when ſhe arrived in Scotland, found there a people little leſs divided by faction than thoſe from whom ſhe had fled. LETTER XLVIII. A.D. 1461.

THE Scottiſh council, however, agreed to aſſiſt Margaret, on her offering to deliver up to them the important fortreſs of Berwick, and to contract her ſon in marriage with a ſiſter of James their king. And Margaret, with her northern auxiliaries, and ſome ſuccours from France, ventured once more to take the field, and to make an inroad into England. But ſhe was able to penetrate no farther than Hexham. There ſhe was attacked by lord Montacute, brother to the earl of Warwick, and warden of the Marches, who totally routed her motley army [13]. All who were ſpared in the field ſuffered on the ſcaffold. A.D. 1464.

THE fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this overthrow, was equally ſingular and affecting. Mar-

12. Hall. Cotton. 13. Ibid.

PART I. garet fled with her ſon into a foreſt, where ſhe en-
A.D. 1464. deavoured to conceal herſelf, but was beſet during the darkneſs of night by robbers, who deſpoiled her of her jewels, and treated her with the utmoſt indignity. She made her eſcape however, while they were quarrelling about the booty; and wandered ſome time with her ſon in the moſt unfrequented thickets, ſpent with hunger and fatigue, and ready to ſink beneath the load of terror and affliction. In this wretched condition ſhe was met by a robber with his ſword naked in his hand: and ſeeing no means of eſcape, ſhe ſuddenly embraced the bold reſolution of truſting entirely to his faith and generoſity. "Approach, "my friend!"—cried ſhe, preſenting to him the young prince;—"to you I commit the ſafety of your king's ſon." Struck with the ſingularity of the event, and charmed with the confidence repoſed in him, the robber became her protector. By his favour ſhe dwelt concealed in the foreſt, till ſhe found an opportunity to make her eſcape into Flanders; whence ſhe paſſed to her father in France, where ſhe lived ſeveral years in privacy and retirement [14]. Henry was leſs fortunate in finding the means of eſcape. He lay concealed during twelve months in Lancaſhire;
A.D. 1465. but was at laſt detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower [15].

THE youthful monarch, thus rid of all his enemies, reſigned himſelf freely to thoſe pleaſures and amuſements, which his rank, his time of life, and his natural temper, no leſs turned for love than war, invited him to enjoy. The cruel and unrelenting Edward lived in the moſt familiar and ſocial manner with his

14. Monſtrelet, tom. iii. 15. Hall. Hollingſhed.

ſubjects.

LETTER XLVIII.

A.D. 1465.

ſubjects. He was the peculiar favourite of the young and gay of both ſexes; and the beauty of his perſon, as well as the gallantry of his addreſs, which even in the humbleſt condition, would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, facilitated all his applications for their favour. But it is difficult to confine the ruling paſſion within the bounds of prudence. The ardent temperament of Edward led him into a ſnare, which proved fatal to his repoſe, and to the ſtability of his throne.

THIS young king while in the height of diſſipation, had reſolved to marry, in order to ſecure his throne by iſſue, as well as by alliances: and he had caſt his eyes on Bona of Savoy, ſiſter to the queen of France. The negociation was committed to the earl of Warwick, who went over to Paris, where the princeſs then reſided: his propoſals were accepted, and the treaty was fully concluded. Nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing of the princeſs over to England. Meanwhile the charms of lady Elizabeth Gray, one of the fineſt and moſt accompliſhed woman of her time, had inflamed the amorous heart of Edward. Her huſband, Sir John Gray of Groby, had been ſlain in the ſecond battle of St. Alban's, fighting on the ſide of of Lancaſter, and his eſtate confiſcated; and when the king came accidentally, after a hunting party, to the houſe of her father, Sir Richard Wideville, to whom ſhe had retired, ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and entreated him to take pity on her impoveriſhed and helpleſs children.

THE ſight of ſo much beauty in diſtreſs ſtrongly affected the ſuſceptible Edward. Love inſenſibly ſtole

PART I. A.D. 1465.

into his heart, under the diſguiſe of compaſſion. He raiſed the fair ſupplicant from the ground with aſſurances of favour; and as his paſſion was increaſed by the winning converſation of Elizabeth, he ſoon found himſelf reduced to that poſture and ſtyle of ſolicitation which had been ſo lately her's. But all his ſolicitations were in vain: ſhe obſtinately refuſed to gratify his paſſion; and the young and gallant monarch found for once a virtue which his fondeſt aſſiduities could not bend. Inflamed by oppoſition, and filled with veneration for ſuch honourable ſentiments, Edward loſt ſight of all but love. He offered to ſhare his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman whoſe beauty of perſon, and dignity of character, ſeemed ſo well to entitle her to both: and the marriage was privately celebrated at her father's ſeat in Northamptonſhire [16].

WARWICK, who was ſtill at Paris, no ſooner received intelligence of the king's marriage than he returned to England, flaming with rage and indignation, at being employed in a deceitful treaty, and kept a ſtranger to the intentions of the prince, who owed every thing to his friendſhip. The king was ſenſible that Warwick had been ill uſed; but his pride, or falſe ſhame, prevented him from making an apology: and that nobleman was permitted to depart the court in the ſame hot temper that he came. The advancement of the queen's relations into offices of power and truſt, to the excluſion of thoſe of Warwick, whom ſhe regarded as her mortal enemy, heightened his diſcontent, and made him reſolve to ruin the king he had made.

16. Hall. Grafton.

IN

LETTER XLVIII.

In order to effect his purpoſe, Warwick drew over to his intereſt the duke of Clarence, the king's ſecond brother, by offering him in marriage his eldeſt daughter, and co-heireſs of his immenſe fortune. Many of the ancient nobility envied the ſudden growth of the Widevilles. They aſſociated themſelves with Warwick; who finding his own name [illegible] and being chaſed to France, after ſome unſucceſsful ſtruggles, entered into a league with queen Margaret, his inveterate enemy. On his return to England, he was joined by the whole body of Lancaſtrians. Both parties now prepared for a general deciſion by arms; and a deciſive action was every moment expected, when Edward, finding himſelf betrayed by the marquis of Montague, and ſuſpicious of his other commanders, ſuddenly abandoned his army, and fled to Holland. Henry VI. was taken from his confinement in the Tower, and placed once more upon the Engliſh throne; and a parliament, called under the influence of Warwick, declared Edward IV. an uſurper [17]. A. D. 1470.

But this revolution was only the effect of the giddineſs of faction. Warwick was no ſooner at the helm of government, than his popularity began to decline, though he appears to have been guilty of no unpopular act; ſo fugitive a thing is public favour!—The young king was emboldened to return. He landed at Ravenſpur, as Henry IV. had formerly done, upon a like occaſion; and although he brought with him only two thouſand men, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition to face the earl of Warwick, who had taken poſt at Barnet. The city of London opened its gates to Edward; who thus became at once maſter of his A. D. 1471.

17. Stowe. Hall.

PART I. A.D. 1471.

capital and of the perſon of his rival Henry, doomed to be the perpetual ſport of fortune. The arrival of queen Margaret, whoſe preſence would have been of infinite ſervice to her party, was every day expected. In the meantime the duke of Clarence, Warwick's ſon-in-law, deſerted to the king, and carried along with him a body of twelve thouſand men. But Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with diſdain all terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides. The two armies, in imitation of their leaders, diſplayed uncommon acts of valour, and the conteſt for victory remained long undecided; but an accident threw at laſt the balance on the ſide of the Yorkiſts. Edward's cogniſance was a ſun, Warwick's a ſtar with rays; and the miſtineſs of the morning rendering it difficult to diſtinguiſh them, a body of the Lancaſtrians were attacked by their friends, and driven off the field. Warwick did all that experience, conduct, or valour could ſuggeſt, to retrieve the miſtake, but in vain. He had engaged on foot that day, contrary to his uſual practice, in order to ſhew his troops, that he was reſolved to ſhare every danger with them; and now ſenſible that all was loſt, unleſs a reverſe of fortune could be wrought by ſome extraordinary effort, he ruſhed into the thickeſt of the engagement, and fell covered with a multitude of wounds. His brother, the marquis of Montague, underwent the ſame fate; and as Edward had iſſued orders to give no quarter, a great and undiſtinguiſhed ſlaughter was made in the purſuit[18].

18. Grafton. Hall. Contin. *Hiſt. Croyland.* Phil. de Comines, liv. iii.

QUEEN

LETTER XLVIII.

A. D. 1471.

QUEEN Margaret and her ſon prince Edward, now about eighteen years of age, landed from France the ſame day on which that deciſive battle was fought. She had hitherto ſuſtained the ſhocks of fortune with ſurpriſing fortitude; but when ſhe received intelligence of her husband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick, her courage failed her, and ſhe took ſanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampſhire.

ENCOURAGED however, by the appearance of Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and ſeveral other noblemen, who exhorted her ſtill to hope for ſucceſs, ſhe reſumed her former ſpirit, and determined to aſſert to the laſt her claim to the crown of England. She accordingly put herſelf once more at the head of the army, which increaſed in every day's march, and advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerſet, and Glouceſter. But the ardent and expeditious Edward overtook her at Tewkſbury, on the banks of the Severn, where the Lancaſtrians were totally routed and diſperſed. Margaret and her ſon were taken priſoners, and brought to the king, who aſked the prince in an imperious tone, how he dared to invade his dominions. "I came "hither," replied the undaunted youth, more mindful of his high birth than his preſent fortune, "to "revenge my father's wrongs, and reſcue my juſt "inheritance out of your hands." Incenſed at his freedom, inſtead of admiring the boldneſs of his ſpirit, the ungenerous Edward barbarouſly ſtruck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, lord Haſtings, and Sir Thomas Gray, taking this blow as a ſignal for farther violence, hurried the prince aſide, and inſtantly diſpatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the

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Tower, where her husband Henry had just expired. Whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain; though it is generally believed that the duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hand [19].

The hopes of the house of Lancaster being thus extinguished by the death of every legitimate prince of that family, Edward, who had no longer any enemy that could give him anxiety or alarm, was encouraged once more to indulge himself in pleasure and amusement; and he recovered by his gay humour, and his easy familiar manners, that popularity which must have been in some degree impaired by the cruelties exercised upon his enemies. The example also of his jovial festivity, served to abate the acrimony of faction among his subjects, and to restore the social disposition, which had been so long interrupted between the opposite parties. But although Edward was fond of pleasure, he was not deaf to the calls of ambition; and a projected invasion of France, in order to recover the dominions lost under his predecessor, tended still farther to increase his popularity.

The prospect of a French war has always proved a sure means of uniting the people of England, and of making the members of parliament open their purses. A.D. 1475. Edward received a considerable supply, and passed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers. He was attended by all his chief nobility; who, animated by former successes, were eager to appear once more on the theatre of honour. But their ardour was damped, when they found, on entering the French territories, that their ally, the duke of Burgundy, did not bring them the

19. Stowe. Hall.

smallest

LETTER XLVIII.

A. D. 1475.

ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. Tranſported by his fervid temper, that prince had carried his troops to the frontiers of Germany, where they were employed in hoſtilities againſt the duke of Lorrain. Lewis XI. however, alarmed at the preſence of ſo warlike and powerful a monarch as Edward, propoſed an accommodation, and a truce was concluded on terms by no means honourable to France. Lewis ſtipulated to pay the king of England immediately ſeventy-five thouſand crowns, in order to defray the expence of his armament, on condition that he ſhould quietly withdraw his troops, and fifty thouſand crowns a-year during their joint lives[20].

THIS treaty reflected little honour on either of the monarchs. It diſcovered the imprudence of the one, and the puſillanimity of the other. But as Lewis made intereſt the ſole teſt of his honour, he thought he had over-reached Edward, by ſending him out of France on ſuch eaſy terms. The moſt honourable article, on the ſide of Lewis, was the ſtipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, who was ſtill detained in cuſtody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom; and this princeſs who, in the active ſcenes of life, had experienced ſo remarkably the viciſſitudes of fortune, paſſed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy. Margaret ſeems neither to have poſſeſſed the virtues, nor been ſubject to the weakneſſes of her ſex: and ſhe was as much tainted with the ferocity, as endowed with the courage of the age in which he lived.

THE dark and unrelenting diſpoſition of Richard, duke of Glouceſter, the future ſcourge of England,

20. Rymer, vol. xii. Phil. de Comines, liv. iv.

began

PART I. A.D. 1475. began more particularly to diſcover itſelf after Edward's return from France. The duke of Clarence, by all his ſervices in deſerting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendſhip, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He had alſo the miſfortune to offend his brother Glouceſter, who ſecretly conſpired his ruin. Several of his friends were accuſed and executed, under frivolous pretences, in hopes that his reſentment would betray him into raſh expreſſions, which might furniſh matter for an impeachment. He fell into the ſnare. Inſtead of ſecuring his own life againſt the preſent danger, by ſilence and reſerve, he was open and loud in aſſerting the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming againſt the iniquity of their proſecutors. The king ordered him to be committed to the Tower; A.D. 1478. and he was ſentenced to die by the Houſe of Peers, the ſupreme tribunal of the nation, for arraigning public juſtice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature. The only favour which the king granted him was the choice of his death: and he was privately drowned in a butt of Malmſey [21]; a whimſical choice, which leads us to ſuppoſe, that he was paſſionately fond of that liquor.

THE remaining part of Edward's reign was diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable event. He ſunk again into indolence and pleaſure, from which he was once more rouſed by the proſpect of a French war. While making preparations with that view, he was ſeized A.D. 1483. with a violent diſtemper, of which he died in the forty-ſecond year of his age. He was a prince of

21. Fabian. Stowe. Hall. Hollingſhed.

more

more vigour than prudence; and conſequently leſs fitted to prevent ills by wiſe precautions, than to remedy them after they took place. As a man he poſſeſſed many accompliſhments: his virtues were few, his vices a numerous catalogue. LETTER XLVIII. A. D. 1483.

EDWARD IV. left two ſons; the prince of Wales, now Edward V. in his thirteenth year, and Richard duke of York, in his ninth. The duke of Gloucester, their uncle, whoſe ſanguinary diſpoſition I have had occaſion to notice, was appointed regent by Edward's deſire, and choſen protector by his own artifices. He had already got the two young princes into his poſſeſſion, contrary to the inclination of their mother, who ſeemed ſtruck with a kind of preſage of their future fate; and his eye was fixed upon the throne, though not only the ſons of Edward, but thoſe of the duke of Clarence ſtood between him and it.

AN attempt to exclude or deſtroy ſo many perſons poſſeſſed of a preferable right, may ſeem equally imprudent and impracticable. But a man like Gloucester, who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity, was ſoon carried by his predominant paſſion beyond the reach of fear or precaution; and having ſo far ſucceeded in his views, he no longer heſitated in removing the other obſtructions in his way. He ordered earl Rivers, the queen's brother, Sir Richard Gray her ſon, by her former huſband, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable place in the young king's houſhold, and was firmly attached to his perſon, to be thrown into priſon, and executed without any form of trial. His next ſtep was to draw into his views the duke of Buckingham and lord Haſtings. With the firſt he ſucceeded; but the laſt remained

PART I. A.D. 1483.

firm in his allegiance to the children of Edward, who had ever honoured him with his friendſhip. His death was therefore reſolved upon; and for that purpoſe a council was ſummoned in the Tower, whither that nobleman, ſuſpecting no harm, repaired without heſitation.

GLOUCESTER, on taking his place at the council board, appeared in the eaſieſt and moſt facetious humour imaginable; and making a pretence ſoon after to retire, as if called away by urgent buſineſs, he returned knitting his brows, grinding his teeth, and exhibiting by frequent change of countenance, ſymptoms of inward perturbation. A general ſilence enſued; every one dreading ſome terrible cataſtrophe, and all gazing with looks of doubt and anxiety upon each other. Richard at laſt relieved them from their awful ſuſpence. "What puniſhment do they deſerve," ſaid he, "who have conſpired againſt my life?"—"The death of traitors," replied lord Haſtings. "Theſe traitors," cried Richard, "are the ſorcereſs, "my brother's wife, and that witch Shore, his miſ-"treſs, with others their aſſociates. See to what a "condition they have reduced me by their ſpells and "incantations!" laying bare his arm, all ſhrivelled and decayed. The amazement of the council was increaſed, it being well known this infirmity had attended him from his childhood; and lord Haſtings, who, ſince Edward's death, had engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally alarmed at ſuch an accuſation. "Certainly, my lord," ſaid he, with ſome heſitation, "if they are guilty of ſuch a crime, "they deſerve puniſhment."—"And do you," exclaimed Richard, "reply to me with your *ifs*? You "know their guilt; you are yourſelf a traitor, and "the

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A. D. 1483.

"the chief abettor of the witch Shore; and I ſwear "by St. Paul, that I will not dine until your head "is brought me!" He ſtruck the table with his hand: armed men rushed in at the ſignal: Haſtings was ſeized; hurried away; and inſtantly beheaded on a log of wood, which accidentally lay in the court-yard of the Tower[22].

RICHARD having thus got rid of the man he moſt feared, and of all who were ready to oppoſe his views, ordered lord Stanley, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and other counſellors of whom he was ſuſpicious, to be committed priſoners to the Tower; and, in order to carry on the farce of accuſations, he commanded the goods of Jane Shore to be ſeized, and ſummoned her to anſwer before the council for ſorcery and witchcraft. But as beauty was her only witchcraft, and converſation her moſt dangerous ſpell, no proofs were produced againſt her which could be received even in that ignorant age. Her perſecution, however, did not end here. Though framed for virtue, ſhe had proved unable to reſiſt temptation, and had left her huſband, a goldſmith in Lombard-ſtreet, to live with Edward, who ſolicited her favours. But while ſeduced from her fidelity by this gay and amorous monarch, ſhe ſtill made herſelf reſpectable by her other virtues. She never ſold her influence. Her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, waited not the ſolicitation of preſents or the hopes of reciprocal benefit; to protect the oppreſſed, and relieve the indigent, were her higheſt pleaſures. Yet all her amiable qualities, could not ſave her from the bitterneſs of ſhame, cruelly

22. Contin. *Hiſt. Croyland.* Sir T. More.

impoſed

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impoſed upon her by a barbarous tyrant. Richard ordered her to be tried in the ſpiritual court for adultery. The charge was too notorious to be denied. She pleaded guilty, and was condemned to do public penance in a white ſheet at St. Paul's, after walking barefooted through the city. Her future life was long and wretched. She experienced in old age and poverty the ingratitude of thoſe courtiers whom ſhe had raiſed into favour; not one, of all the multitudes ſhe had obliged, had the humanity to bring her conſolation or relief. Her frailties as a woman, amid a court inured to the moſt atrocious crimes, were thought ſufficient to juſtify all violations of friendſhip towards her, and all neglect of former obligations; and ſhe was permitted to languiſh out her days in ſolitude and want [23].

So many acts of violence, exerciſed againſt all the neareſt connexions of the late king, prognoſticated the ſevereſt fate to his defenceleſs children; and after the murder of Haſtings, Richard no longer made a ſecret of his intention to uſurp the crown. As a colour to his pretenſions, he not only maintained, that his two nephews were illegitimate, but alſo his two brothers, Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence; that his mother had admitted different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of theſe children; that their reſemblance to thoſe gallants was a ſufficient proof of their ſpurious birth; and that he alone of all her ſons, as appeared by his features, was the true offspring of the duke of York. The place choſen for promulgating this foul and impudent aſſertion was the pulpit, before a large congregation, and in Richard's preſence.

23. Ibid.

Dr.

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A. D. 1483.

Dr. Shaw, a ſycophant entirely at his devotion, was appointed to preach in St. Paul's, and having choſen for his text, from ſcripture, "Baſtard ſlips ſhall not thrive!" he enlarged on every circumſtance that could diſcredit the birth of Edward IV. the duke of Clarence, and of all their children. He then broke out into a panegyric on the duke of Gloucester, exclaiming, "It is he who carries in his face, in his ſoul, the "image of virtue, and the marks of true deſcent!" And it was expected, as ſoon as the doctor had pronounced theſe words, that the audience would cry out, "God ſave king Richard!" a ſalutation which would immediately have been laid hold of as a popular conſent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation. But the audience kept a profound ſilence, and diſappointed both the protector and his preacher[24].

RICHARD, however, had gone too far to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpoſe. Another place was choſen for a popular harangue: a place where a popular ſpeaker never fails to perſuade, and where a voice may be obtained for any meaſure, however atrocious or abſurd. The citizens of London, with the rabble at their heels, were aſſembled in Guildhall, where the duke of Buckingham addreſſed them in an eloquent harangue, ſetting forth the title and virtues of the protector, and "God ſave king Richard!" was at laſt returned by the mob. The ſentiments of the nation were now thought ſufficiently declared. The voice of the people was the voice of God! Richard was prevailed upon, though with ſeeming reluctance, to accept of the crown; and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and lawful ſovereign[25].

24. Sir T. More. 25. Ibid.

THIS

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THIS ridiculous farce was ſoon followed by a ſcene truly tragical, the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to Sir Robert Brakenbury, conſtable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death; but that gentleman refuſed to bear any part in the infamous office. The uſurper then ſent for Sir James Tyrrell, who promiſed obedience, and the government of the Tower was given him for one night. He choſe three aſſociates, whom he employed to execute his barbarous commiſſion, and conducted them, about midnight, to the door of the chamber, where the princes were lodged. They were in bed, and fallen into a profound ſleep. The ruffians ſuffocated them with bolſters and pillows, and afterwards ſhewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the ſtair-caſe, under a heap of ſtones [26]. Theſe circumſtances were confeſſed by the perpetrators, in the following reign.

RICHARD

26. Sir T. More. An attempt has lately been made by an ingenious, but whimſical writer, to invalidate the particulars of this relation, and even to bring into queſtion the fact it tends to eſtabliſh. But in anſwer to the *Hiſtoric Doubts* of Mr. Walpole, it will be ſufficient to reply, in the words of the profound and ſagacious Hume; That the ſingular magnanimity, probity, and judgment of Sir Thomas More, make his narrative an evidence beyond all exception; that the teſtimony of no hiſtorian, either of ancient or modern times, can poſſibly have more weight; that he may juſtly be eſteemed a cotemporary with regard to the murder of the two princes: for although he was but five years of age when that event happened, he lived and was educated among the perſons concerned in the principal tranſactions during the adminiſtration of Richard III. And it is plain from his narrative itſelf, which is often extremely circumſtantial, that he had the particulars from eye-witneſſes themſelves. This authority, therefore, is irreſiſtible; and "*ſufficient* to *overbalance* an hundred *little doubts*, and *ſcruples*, and *objections*." (*Hiſt. of England*, vol. iii. note M.) All cotemporary writers, both Engliſh and foreign, charge Richard, directly or indirectly, with the murder of his nephews. Comines openly accuſes him of it, (*Mem.* liv. vi.

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A. D. 1483.

RICHARD having thus extirpated all whom he feared might disturb his government, endeavoured to gain by favours those whom he thought could give stability to his throne. Several noblemen received new honours; and lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household. But Richard's danger arose from a quarter whence he least expected it. The duke of Buckingham did not think himself sufficiently rewarded for his services in promoting the usurpation: he observed the general detestation of Richard; and, by the advice of Morton, bishop of Ely, he turned his eye towards the young earl of Richmond, now an exile in Britanny, as the only person capable of freeing the nation from the tyranny under which it groaned.

HENRY, earl of Richmond, was grandson of Sir Owen Tudor and Catharine of France, relict of Henry V. By his mother he was descended from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III. and was the only remaining branch of that family, which had so long contended for the crown. In order to strengthen his interest a match was concerted between him and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. Money was sent over to him, for the purpose of levying foreign troops; and the queen-dowager promised to join him on his first appearance, with all the friends and partizans of her family.

vi. chap. ix.) and Fabian tells us that, as soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty, "King Edward V. and his brother, the duke of York, "were *put under surer keeping* in the Tower, in *such wise* that they *never* "*after came abroad.*" (*Chron.* f. 225.) Comines supports his accusation with very strong circumstances. The court of France, he tells us, was so much struck with horror at Richard's treason and usurpation, that the English ambassador was refused an audience. *Mem.* ubi sup.

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But ſo extenſive a conſpiracy, though laid on the ſolid foundations of good ſenſe and ſound policy, could not eſcape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard. He ſoon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the duke of Buckingham, were forming ſome deſigns againſt him. The duke, unable to reſiſt the force of Richard, was obliged to ſeek ſafety in retreat: he was diſcovered, condemned, and executed; and the other conſpirators, who had taken arms in different parts of the kingdom, when informed of this misfortune, deſpaired of ſucceſs, and immediately ſeparated themſelves [27]. Meantime the earl of Richmond appeared on the coaſt of England, with a body of five thouſand men; but hearing of the fate of Buckingham, and the diſperſion of his friends, he returned to the coaſt of Britanny.

A.D. 1484.

Richard, thus triumphant in every quarter, and fortified by an unſucceſsful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at laſt to ſummon a parliament; a meaſure which his multiplied crimes, and flagrant uſurpation, had hitherto induced him to decline. The parliament had no choice left but to recognize his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His ſon Edward, a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales: and the king paſſed ſome popular laws in order to reconcile the nation to his government.

All Richard's other meaſures tended to the ſame object. His queen being now dead, he propoſed by means of a papal diſpenſation, to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, the true heireſs of the crown, and intended for the earl of Richmond, if his enterprize had ſucceeded. And, ſtrange as it may ſound in civilized

27. Sir T. More. Contin. *Hiſt. Croyland.*

ears,

ears, the queen-dowager neither ſcrupled this alliance, which was very unuſual in England, and regarded as inceſtuous, nor felt any horror at the thought of marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three ſons, and of her brother. But the earl of Richmond, alarmed at an alliance which muſt prove fatal to all his hopes, and encouraged by the Engliſh exiles, reſolved upon a new invaſion. All men of probity and honour, he was aſſured, were deſirous to prevent the ſceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithleſs hand which held it [28]. In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, he ſet ſail from Harfleur, in Normandy, with a retinue of about two thouſand men, and landed at Milford Haven, in Wales. The Welch, who conſidered him as their countryman, flocked to his ſtandard; and his cauſe immediately wore a favourable aſpect. LETTER XLVIII. A.D. 1485.

RICHARD, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken poſt at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and having given commiſſions to different perſons in the ſeveral counties, whom he empowered to oppoſe his enemy, he propoſed in perſon to haſte, on the firſt alarm, to the place moſt expoſed to danger. The Welch governors had already deſerted to Henry. But the danger to which Richard was chiefly expoſed, proceeded not ſo much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarce any nobleman was ſincerely attached to his cauſe except the duke of Norfolk; and ſome, who had feigned the greateſt loyalty, were only watching for an opportunity to betray and abandon him. Among theſe was lord Stanley; who raiſed a numerous body of his

28. Ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1485.

friends and retainers in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, but without openly declaring himſelf, his ſon being in the tyrant's power. And although Henry had received ſecret aſſurances of Stanley's friendly intentions, the armies on both ſides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour, when they met at Boſworth, near Leiceſter. Henry's army conſiſted of ſix thouſand men; Richard's of double that number: and he haſtened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor.

Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley appeared in the field and declared for the earl of Richmond. This meaſure had a proportional effect upon both armies: it inſpired unuſual courage into Henry's ſoldiers; it threw Richard's into diſmay and confuſion. The intrepid tyrant, now ſenſible of his deſperate ſituation, caſt his eye acroſs the field, and deſcrying his rival at no great diſtance, attempted to decide the victory by a blow. He killed with his own hand Sir William Brandon, ſtandard-bearer to the earl: he diſmounted Sir John Cheney; and he was within reach of Henry himſelf, who declined not the combat, when Sir William Stanley broke in between them, and ſurrounded Richard with his troops. Though overwhelmed by numbers, he ſtill maintained the combat; and at laſt ſunk amid heaps of ſlain, who had fallen by his arm [29].—A life ſo infamous, it has been ſaid by Voltaire, and by Hume after him, did not merit ſo glorious a death; but every man ſurely merits what his talents enable him to earn. Richard was a blood-thirſty tyrant; but he was brave, and he died as a brave man ſhould, with his ſword in his

29. Kennet. Sir T. More.

hand:

hand: he was brave to the laſt. It would indeed have been matter of regret had he died in his bed, after diſturbing ſo cruelly the repoſe of mankind: but his death was ſufficiently violent, to prevent his life from becoming an object of imitation.

THIS battle was entirely deciſive: the king not only being ſlain, but the whole royal army totally routed and diſperſed. The victorious troops, in a tranſport of joy, beſtowed on their general the appellation of king; and "Long live Henry the Seventh!" reſounded from all quarters, and was continued with repeated acclamations. In order to give ſome kind of form to this military election, the ornamental crown which Richard wore in battle, was placed upon Henry's head: his title was confirmed by the parliament; and his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, which took place ſoon after, united the jarring claims of the houſes of York and Lancaſter[30].—Thus ended the race of the Plantagenets, who had ſat upwards of three hundred years upon the throne of England, and thus the civil wars, which had ſo long deſolated the kingdom.

WE muſt now return to the Hiſtory of France.

30. Ibid.

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LETTER XLIX.

FRANCE, *from the Expulſion of the* ENGLISH *by* CHARLES VII. *to the Invaſion of* ITALY *by* CHARLES VIII. *in* 1494.

WHILE England, my dear Philip, was torn in pieces by civil wars, France was increaſing both in power and dominion. Moſt of the great fiefs were reunited to the crown: the authority of the prince was raiſed to ſuch a height, as enabled him to maintain law and order; a conſiderable military force was eſtabliſhed, and the finances were able to ſupport it. The means by which theſe changes were effected require your particular attention.

A. D. 1453. CHARLES VII. no ſooner found himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of France, by the expulſion of the Engliſh, than he devoted himſelf to the cares of government: he endeavoured to repair the ravages of war by promoting the arts of peace, and to ſecure the tranquillity and good order of his kingdom by wiſe regulations. He eſtabliſhed a regular army, inſtead of thoſe troops required to be furniſhed by the crown vaſſals, and levied a tax for their ſupport. Beſides that army, which was kept in conſtant pay, each village maintained a free archer, who was exempted from the king's tax; and it was in conſequence of this exemption, otherwiſe peculiar to the nobility, that ſuch a number of perſons ſoon claimed the title of gentlemen, both by name and arms.

THESE politic meaſures were followed by the moſt important conſequences. A force, always at command,

mand, gave vigour to the royal authority: the poſſeſſors of fiefs being no longer called upon, had no longer any pretence for arming their followers, to diſturb the peace of the ſtate; ſo that the feudal polity went rapidly to decay in France, and Charles beheld himſelf at the head of the largeſt and beſt regulated kingdom in Europe.

But all the wiſdom and generoſity of this great monarch, could not ſecure to him that happineſs which he endeavoured to procure for his ſubjects. His ſon Lewis revolted, and imbittered his latter days with ſorrow; nay, brought him to an untimely grave: for being informed that this prince intended to take him off by poiſon, he abſtained from all food till it was too late; and literally died of hunger, that his unnatural ſon might not be guilty of parricide [1].

Lewis XI. ſo much celebrated as a politician, and deſpiſed as a man, now ſucceeded to that crown, which he had traiterouſly attempted to ſeize, in prejudice to the beſt of kings and of fathers. His leading object was the aggrandizement of the monarchy, by depreſſing the power of the nobles, and reuniting the great fiefs to the crown. And as he knew that men of honour and character would not be concerned in an attempt upon the rights and properties of others, he immediately diſmiſſed the reſpectable miniſters, who had ably and faithfully ſerved his father, and ſelected from among the loweſt of the people, men of a diſpoſition ſimilar to his own; ſubtle, deceitful, unfeeling, and cruel. But craft may ſometimes over-ſhoot its aim, eſpecially when accompanied with rapacity. A.D. 1461.

1. Monſtrelet. Du Tillet. Mezeray.

PART I. A. D. 1465.

The nobles were alarmed; they entered into an aſſociation, and took arms to humble their oppreſſor. The king alſo took arms, and prepared to face them. A battle was fought, which decided nothing; and as Lewis was fonder of negociating than fighting, a peace was concluded, on terms advantageous to the rebels, but which the perfidious tyrant never meant to fulfil. He took into favour many of thoſe whom he had formerly diſgraced: he detached from the confederacy the dukes of Bourbon and Britanny; and he got an aſſembly of the ſtates to declare thoſe articles of the treaty void, which were moſt detrimental to his intereſt [2].

A. D. 1467

But although Lewis thus artfully defeated a conſpiracy that ſeemed to endanger his throne, his rapacity ſoon brought him into new troubles: he became the dupe of his own artifice, and had almoſt periſhed in his own ſnare. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, was ſucceeded in his extenſive dominions by his ſon Charles the Bold. Charles had an antipathy againſt Lewis; and, what more alarmed that arch-politician, knew him better than any man in Europe. Both parties aſſembled forces, and the fate of one of them was expected to be decided; when Lewis, who hated coming to extremities, agreed to pay the duke

2. *Mem de Phil. de Comines.* Dupleix. Mezeray. By exerting all his power and addreſs in influencing the election of repreſentatives; by bribing or over-awing the members, and by various changes which he artfully made in the form of their deliberations, Lewis XI. acquired ſuch entire direction of the national aſſemblies, that, from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely ſubſervient, in protecting the moſt odious meaſures of his reign. (Phil. de Com tom. i.) He firſt taught other modern princes the fatal art of becoming arbitrary, by corrupting the fountain of public liberty.

thirty-

thirty-ſix thouſand crowns to defray his military expences, and appointed a perſonal interview at Peronne, in Picardy, then in poſſeſſion of Charles. The propoſal was agreed to, and the king went to the place of meeting, accompanied only by a few domeſtics. By ſuch an act of confidence, he hoped to throw Charles off his guard, and take advantage, during their conferences, of that friendly temper which he had inſpired. As a farther means of forwarding his negociation, he commanded ſome of his emiſſaries to enter Liege, and perſuade the inhabitants to revolt againſt the duke.

THUS wrapt in perfidy and deceit, Lewis thought himſelf ſure of concluding an advantageous treaty. He was miſtaken, however, for once. The duke indeed received him with all poſſible marks of friendſhip and reſpect, and ſeemed highly pleaſed with ſo much confidence in an adverſary; but the face of affairs was ſoon changed. Intelligence arrived that the people of Liege had broke out into open rebellion, at the inſtigation of the French emiſſaries, and had cut the garriſon in pieces. Charles, in the firſt tranſports of his rage, ordered the king to be ſhut up in the caſtle of Peronne; poſted double guards at the gates, and made him thoroughly ſenſible that he was a priſoner, and at the mercy of his vaſſal.

IN that wretched condition Lewis had continued three days, when he again attempted to ſet his crooked policy at work, by diſtributing large ſums among the duke's officers; and Charles's anger being now ſomewhat abated, he was prevailed upon to enter into a negociation with his priſoner, or rather to preſcribe ſuch terms as he thought proper, to a prince whoſe life

PART I. life and liberty were in his power. The moſt mortifying of theſe conditions was, that Lewis ſhould march with him againſt Liege, and be active in the reduction of that place, which had revolted at
A.D. 1468. his own requeſt. Liege was reduced; and Lewis having thus fulfilled, in every particular, the purpoſe of his vaſſal, was permitted to depart, before the duke ſet fire to the town, and maſſacred the inhabitants [3].—This affair was treated with ſo much ridicule at Paris, that all the magpyes and jays were taught to cry, "Peronne! Peronne!" a circumſtance that proved fatal to many of them; for Lewis, after his return, iſſued an edict for deſtroying all thoſe talkative birds, as unneceſſary remembrancers of his diſgrace [4].

THE ſubſequent part of Lewis's reign was one continued ſcene of executions, wars, and negociations. He and his infamous miniſters divided the poſſeſſions of thoſe, whom his tyrannies had cauſed to rebel: his miniſters themſelves conſpired againſt him; and the biſhop of Verdun, and cardinal Balue, men as wicked as himſelf, ſuffered thoſe tortures which they had invented for others. His brother Charles, who had been always a thorn in his ſide, was taken off by poiſon: the conſtable de St. Paul, his brother-in-law, the count of Armagnac, the dukes of Alençon and Nemours, loſt their heads on the ſcaffold; and the children of the laſt named nobleman, by an unheard-of piece of barbarity, were ſprinkled with their father's blood, yet reeking from his veins, and ſent in that condition to the Baſtile [5].

3. Phil. de Com. liv. ii. chap. vii—xiv.

4. J. Troyes, *Hiſt. Secrete de Lewis XI.*

5. Du Tillet. The king ordered, ſays Mezeray, that the two ſon of the duke of Nemours, yet infants, ſhould be placed beneath the ſcaffold on which he was executed, that their father's blood might fall on their heads. *Abregé Chronol. de Hiſt. de France*, tom. iii.

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WITH the ignominious but politic treaty of Lewis with Edward IV. by which he purchaſed the retreat of that monarch, you are already acquainted. He was always engaged, either in war or negociations with his natural enemy the duke of Burgundy, till the death of that prince, who fell in an ambitious and unprovoked attempt upon the liberty of the Swiſs. A. D. 1477. This was a fortunate event for Lewis, and he endeavoured to make the moſt of it. The duke left no male iſſue, and but one daughter, the ſole heireſs of his extenſive dominions, which comprehended not only the duchy of Burgundy, but Franche-Comté, Artois, Flanders, and almoſt all the Netherlands. Lewis propoſed a marriage between this princeſs and his ſon Charles, the dauphin, a boy only ſeven years old. In the mean time he ſeized Burgundy, as a male fief, and made himſelf maſter of Artois, Bezançon, and ſeveral other places, by the moſt atrocious acts of treachery and cruelty [6]. This was the way to make ſure of ſomething, but ſurely not to bring about a marriage treaty: the rapacity of this arch-politician, notwithſtanding all his penetration, once more betrayed him. The princeſs, Mary, was filled with diffidence, and her Flemiſh ſubjects with deteſtation. By their advice ſhe married the archduke Maximilian [7], ſon of the emperor Frederic III. and hence aroſe new wars, which long deſolated the Low Countries, and bred an implacable hatred between the houſes of France and Auſtria.

LEWIS

6. Phil. de Com. liv. v. chap. xv. Du Clos, *Hiſt. Lewis XI.*

7. There is reaſon however to believe, that the heireſs of Burgundy was influenced, in her choice, by other motives than thoſe of policy; for we are told by Philip de Comines, that while her marriage with the dauphin

PART I. A.D. 1480.

LEWIS, however, put a ſtop to theſe wars (as he did, as ſoon as poſſible, to all in which he was engaged) by a truce; and though he could not boaſt of his ſucceſs in arms, he retained Burgundy, and all the other places he had ſeized. Anjou, Maine, Provence, and Bar, were ſoon after left him by Charles count du Maine, the laſt prince of the houſe of Anjou, who died without iſſue. He had united to the crown Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, under pretence of mortgage, and the county of Boulogne by purchaſe. Thus Lewis, amid all his crimes, and after all his ſtruggles, and all his blunders, ſaw his kingdom much enlarged, his ſubjects in obedience, and his government revered at home and abroad. But he had only a glimpſe of that agreeable proſpect; for he was ſuddenly ſeized with a fit of the apoplexy, which threw him into a lingering illneſs: and he expected death with all thoſe horrors, which a life of ſuch complicated guilt deſerved. It at laſt overtook him;

dauphin was under deliberation, madame Hallewin, firſt lady of the bed-chamber to that princeſs, gave it as her opinion, "That there was more "need of a man than a boy!" (Mem. liv vi. chap. iii.) Admitting this to be the caſe, and the marriage with the dauphin impracticable, Lewis might ſtill have prevented the dominions of Burgundy from being conveyed to a rival power, by favouring the ſuit of the count of Angouleme, a prince of the blood-royal of France, and father of Francis I. towards a match with whom the princeſs Mary had indicated her good will. (Comines, ubi ſup.) But the rapacious diſpoſition and intriguing ſpirit of the French monarch, which obſcured his naturally clear and ſound underſtanding, with his jealous dread of ſo highly exalting a ſubject, made him diſcourage that alliance, and purſue a line of inſidious policy diſgraceful even to Lewis XI. and which contributed, eventually, to raiſe up in the houſe of Auſtria a rival power that thwarted the meaſures, oppoſed the arms, and checked, during two centuries, the progreſs of the ſucceſſors of a prince, who firſt united the interior force of France, and eſtabliſhed it on ſuch a footing as to render it formidable to the reſt of Europe.

but

but not before he had ſuffered more ſevere tortures than any criminal puniſhed during his reign[8].

8. Phil. de Com. liv. vi. chap xxi. xxii. Du Clos, *Hiſt. Louis XI.* The picture drawn, by theſe two writers, of the laſt ſcene of this monarch's life, in contraſt with his cruelties, is deeply ſhaded with horror. He put to death, we are told, more than four thouſand perſons, by different kinds of torture, and without any form of trial; that he was uſually preſent himſelf at their execution, in beholding which he ſeemed to enjoy a barbarous ſatisfaction or triumph; that many of the nobility were, by his order, confined in iron cages, invented by the miniſters of his tyrannies, and carried about like wild beaſts; while others were loaded with heavy and galling fetters, with a ring of a particular conſtruction for the feet, called the *King's Nets!* (Comines et Du Clos ubi ſup.) In conſequence of theſe barbarities, and a dread of future puniſhment, he became greatly afraid of death; and during his illneſs ſuſpicious of every one around him, not excepting his own ſon, his daughter, and his ſon-in-law, the lord of Beaujeau, afterwards duke of Bourbon, though in the two laſt he placed more confidence than in all others. After often ſhifting his reſidence and his domeſtics, under pretence that nature delights in change, he took up his abode at the caſtle of Pleſſiz-les-Tours, which he ordered to be encompaſſed with large bars of iron in the form of a grate, with four watch-towers of iron at the four corners of the building. The grates were without the wall, on the farther ſide of the ditch, and went to the bottom; ſpikes of iron, ſet as thick as poſſible, were faſtened into the wall; and croſs-bow men were placed in the ditches and in the watch-towers, to ſhoot at any man, who dared approach the caſtle till the opening of the gate. The gate was never opened, nor the draw-bridge let down before eight in the morning, when the courtiers were permitted to enter. Through the day the captains were ordered to guard their ſeveral poſts, with a main guard in the middle of the court, as in a town cloſely beſieged. (Phil de Com. liv. vi. chap. xii.) Nor was this all. Every ſecret of medicine, every allurement of ſenſuality, and every ſacrifice to ſuperſtition, was exhauſted, in order to protract the tyrant's miſerable exiſtence, and ſet at a diſtance the ills he feared. The pope ſent him the veſt which St. Peter wore when he ſaid maſs; the ſacred phial was brought from Rheims to reanoint him; and he invited a holy hermit from Calabria, at whoſe feet he kneeled, and whoſe interceſſion with Heaven he attempted to buy, by building him two convents; the moſt beautiful country girls were procured to dance around him to the ſound of muſic; he paid his phyſician, whom he feared, the enormous ſum of ten thouſand crowns a month; and the blood of infants is ſaid to have been ſpilt in order to ſoften the acrimony of his ſcorbutic humours! Phil. de Com. et Du Clos, ubi ſup.

PART I.

A. D. 1483.

THE character of Lewis XI. is one of the moſt complicated in hiſtory. He obtained the end which he propoſed by his policy, but at the expence of his peace and reputation. His life was a jumble of crimes and contradictions. Abſolute, without dignity; popular (becauſe he humbled the great), without generoſity; unjuſt by ſyſtem, yet zealous for the adminiſtration of juſtice; living in open violation of the firſt principles of morals, but reſigning himſelf to the moſt ridiculous ſuperſtitions; the tyrant of his ſubjects, and the timid ſlave of his phyſicians! he debaſed the royalty at the ſame time that he ſtrengthened it. Yet this prince who rendered religion contemptible, and royalty diſgraceful, aſſumed the title of *Majeſty*, and *Moſt Chriſtian*, ſince given to his ſucceſſors, and formerly not claimed by the kings of France.

LEWIS was ſucceeded by his ſon, Charles VIII. a young prince ill educated, raſh, and incapable of application. As he had entered the fourteenth year of his age, he was no longer a minor by the law; but he was ſtill ſo by nature; and Lewis had wiſely entruſted the government, during the youth of the king, to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeau, a woman of great ſpirit and capacity. The adminiſtration, however, was diſputed by the duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, and afterwards the celebrated Lewis XII. who proving unſucceſsful in his intrigues, betook himſelf to arms, and entered into a league with the duke of Britanny, and the archduke Maximilian. The Bretons were defeated in the battle of

A. D. 1488. St. Aubin, and the duke of Orleans was taken priſoner [9].

9. Mezeray, tom. iv. Henault, tom i. Could the duke of Orleans have flattered the paſſion of Anne of Beaujeau, he might, if we believe Brantome, not only have eſcaped this misfortune, but ſhared the adminiſtration.

THE

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THE death of the duke of Britanny, which happened ſoon after this defeat, threw the affairs of that duchy into the utmoſt confuſion, and ſeemed to threaten the ſtate with final ſubjection. It was the only great fief which now remained diſunited from the crown of France; and, as the duke had died without male heirs, ſome antiquated claims to its dominion were revived by Charles VIII. But force is the beſt claim between princes: of that Charles was poſſeſſed; and the conqueſt of Britanny ſeemed inevitable, unleſs prevented by ſome foreign power. A.D. 1488.

THE prince to whom the diſtreſſed Bretons looked up for aid was Henry VII. of England, who was highly intereſted in preventing the reduction of their country, as well as bound by ties of gratitude to return that protection to the young ducheſs, which had been generouſly yielded him by her father. But the parſimonious temper of Henry, which rendered him averſe to all warlike enterprizes, or diſtant expeditions, prevented him from ſending them any effectual ſupport. They therefore applied to Maximilian of Auſtria, now king of the Romans, whoſe wife, Mary of Burgundy, was lately dead, and offered him their ducheſs in marriage. The propoſal was readily accepted; the nuptials were celebrated by proxy; and the ducheſs of Britanny aſſumed the auguſt title of Queen of the Romans. But this honour was all ſhe gained by her marriage: for Maximilian, deſtitute of money and troops, and embarraſſed by the continual revolts of the Flemings, was able to ſend no ſuccours to his conſort. The French made progreſs every day: yet the conqueſt of Britanny ſeemed ſtill ſo diſtant, and accompanied with ſo many difficulties, A.D. 1489.

that

PART. I. A. D. 1489. that the court of France changed its meaſures, and by a maſter ſtroke in policy aſtoniſhed all Europe.

CHARLES VIII. had been affianced to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian. Though too young for the nuptial union, ſhe had been ſent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of queen of France. Engagements ſo ſolemnly entered into could not eaſily be ſet aſide: but the marriage of Charles with the ducheſs of Britanny ſeemed neceſſary to reannex that important fief to the crown; and, as a yet ſtronger motive for ſuch alliance, the marriage of Maximilian with this princeſs appeared deſtructive to the grandeur, and even to the ſecurity of the French monarchy. The only means of obviating every inconveniency, were therefore concluded to be, the diſſolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated but not conſummated, and the eſpouſal of the ducheſs of Britanny to the king of France.

The meaſures by which the French miniſtry carried this delicate ſcheme into execution, were wiſe and political. While they preſſed Britanny with all the violence of war, they ſecretly negociated with the men of moſt influence in the duchy, repreſenting to them, That the happieſt event, which in their preſent ſituation could befall the Bretons, would be a peace with France, though purchaſed by a final ſubjection to that monarchy. Theſe arguments had ſome weight with the barons; but the grand difficulty was, how to obtain the conſent of the ducheſs, who had fixed her affections on Maximilian. In order to ſubdue her obſtinacy, the duke of Orleans was ſet at liberty; and though formerly her ſuitor, and favoured with her ſmile, he now zealouſly employed all his intereſt

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intereſt in favour of the king. By his advice, Charles advanced with a powerful army to Rennes, at that time the reſidence of the ducheſs. Finding herſelf without reſource, ſhe opened the gates of the city, and agreed to the proffered marriage; which was ſoon after ſolemnized, and juſtly conſidered as the moſt fortunate event that could have befallen the French monarchy [10]. A D. 1491.

THE ſucceſs of Charles in this negociation, was the moſt ſenſible mortification to the king of the Romans. He was deprived of a conſiderable territory which he thought he had acquired, and an accompliſhed princeſs, whom he had eſpouſed: he was affronted in the perſon of his daughter Margaret, who was ſent back to him, after ſhe had been treated during ſeven years, as queen of France; and he had reaſon to reproach himſelf with his own ſupine ſecurity, in neglecting the conſummation of his marriage, which was eaſily practicable for him, and would have rendered the tie indiſſoluble. The king of England had alſo reaſon to accuſe himſelf of miſconduct, in regard to this important tranſaction: for although the affair had terminated in a manner which he could not preciſely foreſee, his negligence in leaving his moſt uſeful ally ſo long expoſed to the invaſion of a ſuperior power, could not but appear, on reflection, the reſult of timid caution, and narrow politics; and, as Henry valued himſelf on his extenſive foreſight, and ſound judgment, the aſcendant acquired over him, by ſuch a youth as Charles, rouſed his indignation, and prompted him to ſeek vengeance, after all remedy for his miſcarriage was become impracticable. He accordingly entered into a league with the king of the

10. Mezeray, Henault, ubi ſup. Bacon, *Hiſt. Hen. VII.*

PART I. Romans, and the king of Spain, who alſo intereſted himſelf in this matter: he obtained liberal ſupplies from his parliament; and he landed in France with
A. D. 1492. one of the largeſt, and beſt appointed armies that had ever been tranſported from England [11].

But Charles and his miniſters found means to divert the impending ſtorm, by diſſolving the confederacy. They drew the king of Spain into a ſeparate treaty, by reſtoring to him the counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne; and as they knew Henry's ruling paſſion to be money, he was bought off by the famous treaty of Eſtaples, the particulars of which I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to mention. Maximilian
A. D. 1493. now alone remained of all thoſe hoſtile powers; and he was content to conclude a peace, on obtaining reſtitution of Artois, Franche Compté, and Carolois, which had been ceded as the dowry of his daughter, when ſhe was affianced to the king of France [12].

Charles's motives for purchaſing peace at ſo high a price were neither thoſe of indolence nor timidity, but of ambition and youthful ardour. He had determined to vindicate his title to the kingdom of Naples, ſuppoſed to deſcend to him from the ſecond houſe of Anjou, which ended in Charles count of Maine, who had bequeathed all his rights and poſſeſſions to the crown of France. This project had long engaged the mind of Charles; but, in order to carry it effectually into execution, it was neceſſary to be at peace with his neighbours: and that being now ſe-
A. D. 1494. cured, he ſet out for Italy with as little concern as if it had been a mere journey of pleaſure [13].

11. Bacon, ubi ſup. 12. Phil. de Com. liv. viii. chap. iii.
13. Ibid. chap. v. Mezeray, tom. iv.

But

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But before I ſpeak of the ſucceſs of that expedition, and the wars in which it involved Europe, ſeveral important matters merit your attention—the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, and the expulſion of the Moors out of Spain.

LETTER L.

The Progreſs of the TURKS, *and the Fall of the* GREEK *Empire.*

LETTER L.

YOU have already ſeen, my dear Philip, the weakneſs of the empire of Conſtantinople at the time of the Cruſades; you have ſeen the imperial city ſacked, and the government ſeized by the champions of the Croſs. The Greeks recovered their empire from the French in 1261, but in a mangled and impoveriſhed condition. It continued in the ſame weak ſtate. The monaſtic paſſion ſeemed to have obſcured the rays of common ſenſe. Andronicus, ſon of Michael Paleologus, who had reſtored the Greek empire, allowed himſelf to be perſuaded, that God being his protector, all military force was unneceſſary; and the ſuperſtitious Greeks, regardleſs of danger, employed themſelves in diſputing about the transfiguration of Jeſus Chriſt, when they ſhould have been ſtudying the art of war and training themſelves to military diſcipline. One half of the empire pretended, that the light upon Mount Tabor had been from all eternity; and the other half affirmed, that

PART I. it had been produced by God, only for the purpoſe of the transfiguration [1].

In the mean time the Turks, whoſe force had been broken by the Mogul Tartars, were ſtrengthening themſelves in Aſia Minor, and ſoon over-ran Thrace. Othman, from whom the preſent ſultans are deſcended, and to whom the Ottoman empire owes its eſtabliſhment, fixed the ſeat of his government at Pruſa, in Bythinia, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. His ſon Orcan advanced as far as the borders of the Propontis; and John Cantacuzenus, colleague
A.D. 1346. of the emperor Paleologus, was glad to purchaſe the friendſhip of an infidel and barbarian, according to the haughty language of the Greeks, by giving him his daughter in marriage [2].

Cantacuzenus, who had uſurped the imperial dignity, ended his days in a monaſtery; and John Paleologus, after having in vain implored ſuccours in Italy, and humbled himſelf at the feet of the pope,
A.D. 1370. was obliged to return and conclude a ſhameful treaty with Amurath, the ſon of Orcan, whoſe tributary he conſented to become. The Turkiſh army had croſſed the ſtraights of Callipolis, taken the city of Adrianople, and marched into the heart of Thrace, before the return of the emperor [3]. Amurath firſt gave to the Janizaries that form under which they at preſent ſubſiſt.

In order to create a body of devoted troops, that might ſerve as the immediate guards of his perſon and dignity, the ſultan commanded his officers to ſeize annually, as the imperial property, the third part

1. Pachymer. 2. Ducas. 3. ibid.

of

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of the young males, taken in war. After being inſtructed in the Mahometan religion, inured to obedience by ſevere diſcipline, and trained to warlike exerciſe, theſe youths were formed into regular bands, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Janizaries* or new ſoldiers. And as every ſentiment which enthuſiaſm can inſpire, and every mark of honour that the favour of the prince could confer, were employed to animate them with martial ardour, and fill them with a ſenſe of their own pre-eminence, the Janizaries ſoon became the chief ſtrength and pride of the Ottoman armies. By their valour Amurath defeated, in the plain of Caſſovia, the united forces of the Wallachians, Hungarians, Dalmatians, and Triballians, under the conduct of Laſcaris, prince of Servia; but walking careleſsly over the field of victory, he was aſſaſſinated by a Chriſtian ſoldier, who had concealed himſelf among the ſlain. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Bajazet, ſurnamed Ilderim, or the Thunderbolt, on account of the rapidity of his conqueſts [4]. A. D. 1389.

THE Greeks, though ſurrounded by ſuch dangerous enemies, and though their empire was almoſt reduced to the boundaries of Conſtantinople, were not more united among themſelves than formerly. Diſcord even reigned in the imperial family. John Paleologus had condemned his ſon Andronicus to loſe his eyes: Andronicus revolted againſt him; and, by the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe, who were maſters of the commerce, and even of part of the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, he ſhut his father up in priſon. After two years confinement, the emperor recovered his liberty and his authority, and built a citadel in order to ob-

4. Cantemir, *Hiſt. Oth. Emp.*

PART I. ſtruct the deſigns of the Turks; but Bajazet, the terrible Bajazet, ordered him to demoliſh his works—and the works were demoliſhed [5]!—What but ruin, and that both ſudden and inevitable, could be expected from a people, whoſe timidity induced them to deſtroy the very column of their ſecurity.

In the mean time, the progreſs of the Turks in Europe alarming the Chriſtian princes, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and the flower of the French nobility, took arms, and followed the call of John-without-Fear, count of Nevers. The main army, which conſiſted of about one hundred thouſand men, of different nations, was commanded by Sigiſmond, king of Hungary, afterwards emperor of Germany. The Chriſtians beſieged Nicopolis, upon the Danube. Bajazet came to relieve it. He examined the diſpoſition of his enemies: he tried their ſpirit by ſkirmiſhes, and found they had courage, but wanted conduct: he drew
A.D. 1396. them into an ambuſcade, and gained a complete victory over them. Bajazet has been juſtly blamed for maſſacring his priſoners; but it ought to be remembered, that the French had ſhewn him the example, by putting to death all the Turks they had ſeized before the battle [6].

Constantinople was immediately threatened by the conqueror. But Manuel Paleologus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of John, purchaſed a ſeeming peace, by ſubmitting to an annual tribute of ſix hundred pieces of gold; by obliging himſelf to build a moſque, and receive into the city a cadi, or judge, to decide the differences between the Mahometans ſettled there on

5. Ducas. 6. Cantemir, ubi ſup.

account

LETTER L.

account of trade. Perceiving, however, a new ſtorm ariſing, he withdrew, and went to the ſeveral courts of Europe to petition aſſiſtance, as his father had formerly done: and with no better ſucceſs. Nobody would ſtir in his defence. Few princes indeed were in a condition ſo to do, almoſt all Chriſtendom being involved in civil wars. The Turks, meanwhile, had laid ſiege to Conſtantinople, and its ruin ſeemed inevitable; when the fatal blow was diverted for a time, by one of thoſe great events, that fill the world with confuſion. A.D. 1396.

THE dominions of the Mogul Tartars, under Genghiz Khan, and his immediate ſucceſſors, extended (as we have had occaſion to ſee) from the Wolga to the frontiers of China, and as far eaſt as the river Ganges. Tamerlane, or Timur Beck, one of the princes of thoſe Tartars, and a deſcendant of Genghiz Khan, by the female line, though born without dominions (in the ancient Sogdiana, at preſent the country of the Uſbecs), ſubdued almoſt as great an extent of territory as his victorious anceſtor; and in the ſweep of his conqueſts, gave a blow to the empire of the Turks. He had ſubjected Perſia, India, and Syria, when the Greek emperor, and five Mahometan princes, whom the ſultan had ſtripped of their dominions, invited him into Aſia Minor, as the only potentate able to deliver them from the tyranny of Bajazet.

TAMERLANE was no doubt glad of an opportunity of extending his conqueſts and his renown; but as he had ſtill ſome reſpect for the laws of nations, he ſent ambaſſadors to Bajazet, before he commenced hoſtilities, requiring him to raiſe the ſiege of Con-

PART I. ſtantinople, and do juſtice to the Mahometan princes, whom he had deprived of their territories. The haughty ſultan received theſe propoſals with the higheſt rage and indignation. He abandoned his enterprize, and prepared to face his rival. Tamerlane continued his march, denouncing vengeance.

A. D. 1402. They met between Cæſarea and Ancyra, where all the forces in the world ſeemed aſſembled, and a great and terrible battle was fought. The diſpute was long and obſtinate, but fortune at length declared for Tamerlane. Bajazet himſelf was taken priſoner, and had the affliction to ſee one of his ſons fall by his ſide, and the mortification to find another the companion of his chains. They were treated with great humanity by the victor, notwithſtanding the vulgar ſtory of the iron cage, in which the captive ſultan is ſaid to have been ſhut up. Three hundred and forty thouſand men are computed to have fallen on both ſides [7].

In conſequence of this victory, Tamerlane became maſter of Pruſa, the ſeat of the Turkiſh empire. He pillaged Nice; ravaged all the country as far as the Thracian Boſphorus, and took Smyrna by aſſault, after one of the moſt memorable ſieges recorded in hiſtory. Every place either yielded to the terror of his name or the force of his arms. The victorious Tartar, however, ſoon abandoned his acquiſitions in Aſia Minor, which he found it would be difficult to preſerve againſt ſo brave a people as the Turks, and went to ſecure thoſe conqueſts more likely to prove durable [8].

7. Sharifod. *Hiſt. Timur-Beck.* Cantemir, *Hiſt. Oth. Emp.*
8. Sharifod. ubi ſup.

MEAN-

LETTER L.

MEANWHILE Manuel Paleologus, the Greek emperor, thinking the Turkiſh power entirely broken, deſtroyed the moſque in Conſtantinople, and retook ſeveral places in its neighbourhood. The civil wars between the ſons of Bajazet after the death of their father, and the departure of Tamerlane, fortified Manuel in his ill-founded ſecurity. But the Greeks were in time made ſenſible of their miſtake. On the death of Mahomet I. who had dethroned and put to death his brother Muſa, Amurath II. the ſon of this Mahomet, immediately ſat down before Conſtantinople. He raiſed the ſiege to quell the revolt of his brother Muſtapha; he took Theſſalonica, and returned to the imperial city, which was in more danger than ever. The emperor Manuel had died in the habit of a monk; and his ſucceſſor, John Paleologus II. threw himſelf into the arms of the Latins. He hoped to procure aſſiſtance from the Weſt, by uniting the Greek and Roman churches; but he gained by this ſcheme only the hatred of his ſubjects. They conſidered him and the biſhops of his train, who had aſſiſted at the council of Florence, as no better than infidels. The biſhops were obliged to retract their opinions: and John was much leſs zealous in maintaining that ſo-much-deſired union, when he found it would not anſwer his purpoſe [9].

A. D. 1422.

A. D. 1424.

A. D. 1439.

THE Turks, in the mean time were happily diverted from Coſtantinople by their wars in Hungary;

9. Æneas Sylvius, *Europ.* Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iii. Beſides acknowledging that the Roman pontiff was the ſupreme judge, the true head of the univerſal church, the Greek emperor and his biſhops were obliged to admit, That the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father, and that departed ſouls are purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their introduction to the preſence, or participation of the viſion of the Deity. Moſheim, ubi ſup.

where

PART I. where Amurath found an antagoniſt worthy of himſelf, in the celebrated John Hunniades, vaivode of Tranſylvania, and general to Ladiſlaus VI. king of Poland, whom the Hungarians had raiſed to their throne. This great commander obliged the ſultan to raiſe the ſiege of Belgrad; defeated him in a general engagement, and made him ſue for peace. Amurath A. D. 1444. and Ladiſlaus accordingly concluded a ſolemn truce of ten years; to which the one ſwore upon the Koran, the other upon the Goſpel: and the ſultan, tired of the toils of empire, reſigned the ſcepter to his ſon, Mahomet II. But an atrocious perfidy, diſgraceful to the Chriſtian name, obliged him to reſume it, to the confuſion of his enemies.

THE Turks, repoſing on the faith of the treaty, which they religiouſly obſerved, had carried their forces into Aſia. This ſeemed a favourable opportunity to attack them on the ſide of Europe: and cardinal Julian Cæſarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man of a violent and deceitful character, who had ſignalized himſelf in the cruſade againſt the Huſſites, perſuaded Ladiſlaus that the treaty with the Turks was of no obligation, as it had been concluded without the conſent of his Holineſs; and that it not only might, but ought to be violated. The pope confirmed this opinion; ordered the truce to be broke, and releaſed Ladiſlaus from his oath. In ſo doing, he acted according to the eſtabliſhed uſage of the church of Rome, and in conformity with the maxim, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics," and conſequently not with infidels:—one of the moſt pernicious doctrines ever deviſed by ſuperſtition; a doctrine which not only contradicts the firſt principles of reaſon and con-

conſcience, but which, if carried into practice, muſt deſtroy all moral and political order. It would authoriſe enemies to ſport even with oaths; put an end to public faith, diſſolve the links of ſociety, and ſubſtitute robbery and bloodſhed, inſtead of the laws of nations and the ties of duty. LETTER L. A.D. 1444.

THE arguments of the pope and his legate however prevailed. All the Poliſh and Hungarian chiefs, except the brave Hunniades, ſuffered themſelves to be carried away by the torrent; and Ladiſlaus, ſeduced by falſe hopes, and influenced by falſe principles, invaded the ſultan's territories. The Turks, enraged at ſuch a breach of faith, breathed nothing but vengeance. The janizaries went in a body to beg Amurath to quit his retreat, and put himſelf at their head, his ſon Mahomet being yet young and inexperienced. He conſented, and marched in queſt of the Chriſtian army, which he found encamped near the city of Varna, in Moldavia. Ladiſlaus was ready to receive him, and both armies joined battle. Amurath wore Nov. 10. in his boſom the treaty which had been ſo ſolemnly ſworn to, and ſo ſhamefully violated: he held it up in the height of the engagement, when he found the vigour of his troops beginning to ſlacken, appealing to God, as a witneſs of the perjury of the Chriſtians, and beſeeching him to avenge the inſult offered to the laws of nations. Perjury for once received its juſt reward. The Chriſtians were defeated with great ſlaughter, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. Ladiſlaus fell with his ſword in his hand, all covered with wounds: cardinal Julian ſunk by his ſide; and ten thouſand Poles, who guarded their monarch, covered with their dead bodies nearly the ſame ground on which they

were

PART I. A.D. 1444.

were drawn up[10]. Amurath, thus victorious, reſigned once more the rod of empire: what a rare example of philoſophy in a Turk! and was again obliged to reſume it.

THE perſon who drew the ſultan a ſecond time from his retreat, was George Caſtriot, ſurnamed Scanderbeg, the ſon of a prince of Albania, formerly Epirus. This young hero had been delivered as an hoſtage on the ſubjection of his father's kingdom; had been educated in the court of Amurath, and had riſen into favour by his valour and talents. But he ſtill cheriſhed the idea of becoming one day the deliverer of his country: and a favourable opportunity at laſt offered. He had been ſent with the command of an army into Servia, when he heard of his father's death; and as he underſtood a ſecretary of the Ottoman court was to paſs near his camp, he cauſed him to be ſeized, loaded with chains, and compelled him to ſign and put the ſultan's ſignet to an order, enjoining the governor of Croia, the capital of Albania, to deliver up the town and citadel to himſelf. This falſe order had the deſired effect. The place was delivered up, and Scanderbeg maſſacred the Turkiſh garriſon. The Albanians crouded to his ſtandard; and he made ſo good an uſe of the mountainous ſituation of his country, as to defy all the efforts of the ſultan's power[11].

A.D. 1451.

AMURATH was ſucceeded in his extenſive dominions by his ſon Mahomet II. juſtly ſurnamed the Great, who had been formerly crowned, and obeyed

10. Mat. de Michov. lib. iv. Herbert de Fulſtin lib. xiv. P. Cantemir, ubi ſup.

11. P. Cantemir. Sir Paul Ricaut.

as

as emperor, but had reſigned to his father the reins of government, as you have already ſeen, on account of the exigencies of the times; an example of moderation no leſs extraordinary than the philoſophy of Amurath in retiring from the honours of empire in the hour of victory, eſpecially as Mahomet was naturally of a fiery and ambitious temper. The character of this prince has been very differently repreſented by hiſtorians. Voltaire is his profeſſed panegyriſt; and in order to free him from the imputation of certain cruel and ferocious actions, has combated the moſt inconteſtable facts. Other writers have gone equal lengths to degrade him: he has been painted as a rude and ignorant barbarian, as well as a ſcholar and a patron of the liberal arts. But they who would do juſtice to the character of Mahomet, muſt trace it by other lineaments. He was both a ſcholar and a barbarian: he united the knowledge of the one to the ſavage ferocity of the other. He was enlightened, but not civilized. With ſome taſte for the liberal arts, or at leaſt ſome ſenſe of the value of their productions, he entertained a general contempt for their profeſſors: the Turk always predominated. He was a warrior and a politician in the moſt extenſive meaning of the words: as ſuch he was truly great: and whether we conſider the conception or the execution of his enterprizes, we ſhall find equal cauſe to admire the extent of his underſtanding and the vigour of his ſpirit. His firſt enterprize was againſt Conſtantinople, which had ſo long been the object of the ambition of his anceſtors.

LETTER L. A.D. 1451.

THE Greek emperor, John Paleologus II. had been ſucceeded in 1449, by his ſon Conſtantine. This prince poſſeſſed courage, but little capacity. He took care, however, to ſtrengthen the fortifications

PART I. A.D. 1452. tions of his capital, as ſoon as he was appriſed of the deſigns of Mahomet: and he made many advances to the ſultan, in order to conciliate matters, and induce him to lay aſide his project. But Mahomet's reſolution was taken. Though only twenty-one years of age when he aſcended the Ottoman throne, he had already conceived the deſign of making Conſtantinople the ſeat of his empire; and nothing could divert him from his purpoſe. If he ſometimes ſeemed to liſten to terms of accommodation, it was only that he might lull his enemies into ſecurity, while he carried on his military preparations with unremitted aſſiduity. At laſt he cut off all communication with A.D. 1453. the city, both by ſea and land, and laid ſiege to it in form. Though the garriſon was but ſmall, the walls were defended with great gallantry on the land ſide, the Greeks being actuated by the courage of deſpair: and the Turks were incapable of annoying them from the ſea, by reaſon of large chains and booms which ſecured the mouth of the harbour. But nothing is impoſſible to human genius, when aided by the neceſſary force. In order to overcome this difficulty, Mahomet cauſed a paſſage of near two leagues to be dug over land, in the form of a ſhip's cradle, lined with planks, beſmeared with greaſe; and by the help of engines, and a prodigious number of men, he drew up in the ſpace of one night, eighty gallies, and ſeventy veſſels of ſmaller ſize, out of the water upon theſe planks, and launched them all into the harbour [12]. What muſt have been the ſurprize of the beſieged at morning, to behold a large fleet riding in their port, and yet all their booms ſecure!

12. Ducas, Cantemir.

THE

LETTER L. A. D. 1453.

THE city was now aſſailed on all ſides. Mahomet cauſed a bridge of boats to be built acroſs the harbour, upon which he raiſed a battery of cannon. And here I cannot help remarking, that the artillery of the Greeks muſt have been very indifferent, or very ill ſerved, otherwiſe this bridge could never have been built. The cannon employed by the Turks, are ſaid to have been of an enormous ſize, ſome of them carrying balls of one hundred pounds weight. With theſe great guns they beat down the walls faſter than the beſieged could repair them: a body of janizaries entered the breach, with Mahomet at their head, while another broke in at a ſally-port. The emperor, Conſtantine, whoſe valour merited a more diſtinguiſhed fate, was ſlain among the crowd, and his capital became a prey to the conqueror. But for the honour of Mahomet II. I muſt obſerve, that few of the garriſon were put to the ſword. He arreſted the fury of his troops, and granted conditions to the inhabitants, who had ſent deputies to implore his clemency [13]. They were allowed a magiſtrate to decide their civil differences, a patriarch, and the public exerciſe of their religion. This ſpiritual indulgence they ſtill enjoy, under certain limitations, and alſo their patriarch, and the benefit of their civil magiſtrate.

HERE I might remark, as has been remarked by graver hiſtorians, that Conſtantinople (built by the firſt Chriſtian emperor, whoſe name it bears) ſubmitted to the Turks under a Conſtantine, and Rome to the Barbarians under an Auguſtus!—but ſuch accidental coincidence of names and circumſtances, is more worthy the notice of a monkiſh chronologer, than an obſerver of human nature.

13. Cantemir. Ricaut.

MA-

PART I. MAHOMET continued to push his conquests on all sides, and with unvaried fortune, till he received a check from John Hunniades, who obliged him to raise
A. D. 1456. the siege of Belgrade. The knights of Rhodes, at present of Malta, opposed him in their island with like success. But he subdued Albania, after the death of Scanderbeg; and Trebisond, where the family of Comnenus had preserved an image of the Greek empire. He carried his arms on the other side, as far as Trieste; took Otranto,[14] and fixed the Mahometan power in the heart of Calabria. He threatened Venice, and Rome itself with subjection; hoping to make himself master of Italy, as well as of Greece; and then the triumph of barbarism would have been complete. All Europe trembled at his motions: and well it might; for Europe, unless united, must have sunk
A. D. 1461. beneath his sword. But death freed Christendom from this terrible conqueror, at an age when he might have executed the greatest enterprizes, being only in his fifty-first year. His descendants, however, still possess the finest country in our quarter of the globe. Greece, where civil liberty was first known, and where arts and letters were first brought to perfection, continues to be the seat of ignorance, barbarism, and despotism.

14, Ibid.

LETTER

LETTER LI.

SPAIN, *from the Death of* PETER the CRUEL, *till the Conqueſt of* GRANADA, *by* FERDINAND *and* ISABELLA, *in* 1492.

PETER the Cruel, my dear Philip, after being deſerted by the Black Prince, on account of his perfidy, was ſubdued and ſlain, as you have already ſeen, by his baſtard-brother Henry, count of Traſtamara, who ſucceeded to the throne of Caſtile. Nothing remarkable happened during the reign of this prince, or under his deſcendants for almoſt a century. They were engaged in frequent wars with their neighbours, the kings of Portugal and Arragon. But theſe wars were ſeldom deciſive; ſo that Spain continued in nearly the ſame ſituation, from the death of Peter till the reign of Henry IV. of Caſtile, whoſe debaucheries rouſed the reſentment of his nobles, and produced a moſt ſingular inſurrection, which led to the aggrandiſement of the Spaniſh monarchy. LETTER LI. A.D. 1369.

THIS prince, ſurnamed the Impotent, though continually ſurrounded with women, began his unhappy reign in 1454. He was totally enervated by his pleaſures; and every thing in his court conſpired to ſet the Caſtilians an example of the moſt abject flattery, and moſt abandoned licentiouſneſs. The queen, a daughter of Portugal, lived as openly with her paraſites and her gallants, as the king did with his minions, and his miſtreſſes. Pleaſure was the only object, and effeminacy the only recommendation to favour. The affairs of the ſtate went every day into greater diſorder; until the nobility, with the archbiſhop of To- A.D. 1454.

PART I. ledo at their head, combined againſt the weak and flagitious adminiſtration of Henry; arrogated to themſelves, as one of the privileges of their order, the right of trying and paſſing ſentence on their ſovereign, which they executed in a manner unprecedented in hiſtory.

A.D. 1464. ALL the malcontent nobility were ſummoned to meet at Avila. A ſpacious theatre was erected in a plain, without the walls of the town; an image repreſenting the king, was ſeated on the throne, clad in royal robes, with a crown on its head, a ſceptre in its hand, and the ſword of juſtice by its ſide. The accuſation againſt Henry was read, and the ſentence of depoſition pronounced, in preſence of a numerous aſſembly. At the cloſe of the firſt article of the charge, the archbiſhop of Toledo advanced, and tore the crown from the head of the image; at the cloſe of the ſecond, the Conde de Placentia ſnatched the ſword of juſtice from its ſide; at the cloſe of the third, the Conde de Beneventé wreſted the ſceptre from its hand; and at the cloſe of the laſt, Don Diego Lopez de Stuniga tumbled it headlong from the throne. At the ſame inſtant, Don Alphonzo, Henry's brother, a boy about twelve years of age, was proclaimed king of Caſtile and Leon in his ſtead[1].

THIS extraordinary proceeding was followed by all the horrors of civil war, which did not ceaſe till ſome time after the death of the young prince, on whom the nobles had beſtowed the kingdom. The archbiſhop and his party then continued to carry on war in the name of Iſabella, the king's ſiſter, to whom they gave the title of Infanta; and Henry could not extri-

1. Mariana, lib. xxiii. Diego Henriques del Caſtillo.

extricate himſelf out of theſe troubles, nor remain quiet upon his throne, till he had ſigned one of the moſt humiliating treaties ever extorted from a ſovereign. He acknowledged his ſiſter Iſabella the only lawful heireſs of his kingdom, in prejudice to the rights of his reputed daughter Joan, whom the malcontents affirmed to be the offspring of an adulterous commerce between the queen and Don la Cueva [2]. At ſuch a price did this weak prince purchaſe from his ſubjects the empty title of king!

A. D. 1464.

THE grand object of the malcontent party now was, the marriage of the princeſs Iſabella; upon which, it was evident, the ſecurity of the crown and the happineſs of the people muſt in a great meaſure depend. The alliance was ſought by ſeveral princes. The king of Portugal offered her his hand; the king of France demanded her for his brother, and the king of Arragon for his ſon Ferdinand. The malcontents wiſely preferred the Arragonian prince, and Iſabella prudently made the ſame choice. Articles were drawn up, and they were privately married by the archbiſhop of Toledo [3].

A. D. 1469.

HENRY was enraged at this alliance, which he foreſaw would utterly ruin his authority, by furniſhing his rebellious ſubjects with the ſupport of a powerful neighbouring prince. He diſinherited his ſiſter, and eſtabliſhed the right of his daughter. A furious civil war deſolated the kingdom. The names of Joan and Iſabella reſounded from every quarter, and were every where the ſummons to arms. But peace was at length brought about. Henry was reconciled to

2. Rod. Sanctii, *Hiſt. Hiſp. Chron. del Rey Don Henrig.*
3. Zurit. *Annal. Arrag.* Mariana, ubi ſup.

PART I. his ſiſter and to Ferdinand, though it does not appear that he ever renewed Iſabella's right to the ſucceſſion; for he affirmed in his laſt moments, that he believed Joan to be his own daughter. The queen ſwore to the ſame effect; and Henry left a teſtamentary deed, tranſmitting the crown to this princeſs, who was proclaimed queen of Caſtile at Placentia. But the ſuperior fortune, and ſuperior arms, of Ferdinand and Iſabella prevailed: the king of Portugal was obliged to abandon his niece and intended bride, after many ineffectual ſtruggles and ſeveral years of war. Joan ſunk into a convent, when ſhe hoped to aſcend a throne; and the death of Ferdinand's father, which happened about this time, added the kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily to thoſe of Leon and Caſtile [4].

A. D. 1474.

A. D. 1479.

FERDINAND and Iſabella were perſons of great prudence, and as ſovereigns highly worthy of imitation; but they do not ſeem to have merited all the praiſes beſtowed upon them by the Spaniſh hiſtorians. They did not live like man and wife, having all things in common under the direction of the huſband, but like two princes in cloſe alliance. They neither loved nor hated each other; were ſeldom in company together; had each a ſeparate council, and were frequently jealous of one another in the adminiſtration. But they were inſeparably united in their common intereſts; always acting upon the ſame principles, and forwarding the ſame ends. Their firſt object was the regulation of their government, which the civil wars had thrown into the greateſt diſorder. Rapine, outrage, and murder were become ſo common, as not only to interrupt commerce, but in a great meaſure

4. Id. Ibid.

to

to ſuſpend all intercourſe between one place and another. Theſe evils the joint ſovereigns ſuppreſſed by their wiſe policy, at the ſame time that they extended the royal prerogative[5]. LETTER LI. A.D. 1479

About the middle of the thirteenth century the cities in the kingdom of Arragon, and after their example thoſe in Caſtile had formed themſelves into an aſſociation, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Holy Brotherhood. They exacted a certain contribution from each of the aſſociated towns; they levied a conſiderable body of troops, in order to protect travellers, and purſue criminals; and they appointed judges, who opened courts in various parts of the kingdom. Whoever was guilty of murder, robbery, or any act that violated the public peace, and was ſeized by the troops of the Brotherhoood, was carried before their judges; who, without paying any regard to the excluſive juriſdiction which the lord of the place might claim, who was generally the author or abettor of the injuſtice, tried and condemned the criminals. The nobles often murmured againſt this ſalutary inſtitution; they complained of it as an encroachment on one of their moſt valuable privileges, and endeavoured to get it aboliſhed. But Ferdinand and Iſabella, ſenſible of the beneficial effects of the Brotherhood, not only in regard to the police of their kingdoms, but in its tendency to abridge, and by degrees to annihilate, the territorial juriſdiction of the nobility, countenanced the inſtitution upon every occaſion, and ſupported it with the whole force of royal authority. By theſe means the prompt and impartial

5. Zurita. Mariana. Zuniga.

PART I. adminiſtration of juſtice was reſtored, and with it tranquillity and order returned [6].

But at the ſame time their *Catholic Majeſties* (for ſuch was the title they now bore, conferred on them by the pope) were giving vigour to civil government, and ſecuring their ſubjects from violence and oppreſſion, an intemperate zeal led them to eſtabliſh
A.D. 1480. an eccleſiaſtical tribunal, equally contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and the mild ſpirit of the Goſpel. I mean the court of Inquiſition; which decides upon the honour, fortune, and even life of the unhappy wretch, who happens to fall under the ſuſpicion of hereſy, or a contempt of any thing preſcribed by the church, without his knowing his accuſers, being confronted with them, or permitted either defence or appeal. Six thouſand perſons were burnt by order of this ſanguinary tribunal, within four years after the appointment of Torquemada, the firſt inquiſitor-general, and upwards of one hundred thouſand felt its fury. The ſame zeal, however, which led to the depopulation, and the barbarizing of Caſtile and Arragon, led alſo to their aggrandiſement.

The kingdom of Granada now alone remained of all the Mahometan poſſeſſions in Spain. Princes equally zealous and ambitious, like Ferdinand and Iſabella, were naturally diſpoſed to turn their eyes on that fertile territory; and to think of increaſing their hereditary dominions, by expelling the enemies of Chriſtianity, and extending its doctrines. Every thing conſpired to favour their project. The Mooriſh kingdom was a prey to civil wars, when Ferdi-

6. Ibid.

nand,

nand, having obtained a bull from Sixtus IV. authoriſing a cruſade, put himſelf at the head of his troops, and entered Granada. He continued the war with rapid ſucceſs. Iſabella attended him in ſeveral expeditions; and they were both in great danger at the ſiege of Malaga, an important city, which was defended with great courage, and taken in 1487. Baza was reduced in 1489, after the loſs of twenty thouſand men. Guadix and Almeria were delivered up to them by the Mooriſh king Alzagel, who had firſt dethroned his brother Alboacen, and afterwards been chaſed from his capital, by his nephew Abdali. That prince, ſo blind or ſo baſe, as to confound the ruin of his country with the humiliation of his rival, engaged in the ſervice of Ferdinand and Iſabella; who, after reducing every other place of eminence, undertook the ſiege of Granada. Abdali made a gallant defence; but all communication with the country being cut off, and all hopes of relief at an end, he capitulated, after a ſiege of eight months, on condition that he ſhould enjoy the revenue of certain places in the fertile mountains of Alpujarros; that the inhabitants ſhould retain the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their houſes, goods, and inheritances; the uſe of their laws, and the free exerciſe of their religion [7].

LETTER LI.

A.D. 1483.

A.D. 1492.

Thus ended the empire of the Arabs in Spain, after it had continued about eight hundred years. They introduced the arts and ſciences into Europe, at a time when it was loſt in darkneſs; they poſſeſſed many of the luxuries of life, when they were not even known among the neighbouring nations; and

7. Fran. Bermud. de Pedraza, *Antiq. Excel. de Granad.* Mariana. Hernan. del Pulgar.

PART I. A. D. 1492. they ſeem to have given birth to that romantic gallantry, which ſo eminently prevailed in the ages of chivalry, and which, blending itſelf with the veneration of the northern nations for the ſoſter ſex, ſtill particularly diſtinguiſhes modern from ancient manners. But the Moors, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, and the eulogies beſtowed upon them by Voltaire and other writers, appear to have been always deſtitute of the eſſential qualities of a poliſhed people; humanity, generoſity, and mutual ſympathy.

THE conqueſt of Grenada was followed by the expulſion, or rather the pillage and baniſhment of the Jews, who had engroſſed all the wealth and commerce of Spain. The inquiſition exhauſted its rage againſt theſe unhappy people, many of whom pretended to embrace Chriſtianity, in order to preſerve their property. About the ſame time their Catholic Majeſties concluded an alliance with the emperor Maximilian, and a treaty of marriage for their daughter Joan with his ſon Philip, archduke of Auſtria, and ſovereign of the Netherlands. About this time alſo the contract was concluded with Chriſtopher Columbus for the diſcovery of *new* countries; and the counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne were agreed to be reſtored by Charles VIII. of France, before his expedition into Italy. But the conſequences of theſe meaſures, and the intereſt which Ferdinand took in the Italian wars, muſt form the ſubject of future Letters.

I SHOULD now, my dear Philip, return to the great line of European hiſtory; but, for the ſake of perſpicuity, I ſhall firſt make you acquainted with the affairs of England under Henry VII. as his ſon Henry

VIII. had a conſiderable ſhare in the continental tranſactions, and derived his importance chiefly from the prudent policy of his father. LETTER LI.

LETTER LII.

ENGLAND, *during the Reign of* HENRY VII.

HENRY VII. the firſt prince of the houſe of Tudor, aſcended the throne of England, as you have already ſeen, in conſequence of the victory at Boſworth, and the death of Richard III. His title was confirmed by the parliament: his merit was known; and his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. united the jarring claims of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and ſeemed to give univerſal ſatisfaction to the nation. He had therefore every reaſon to promiſe himſelf peace and ſecurity. LETTER LII. A. D. 1485.

BUT Henry, although in many reſpects a prudent and politic prince, had unhappily imbibed a violent antipathy againſt the adherents of the houſe of York, which no time or experience was ever able to efface. Inſtead of embracing the preſent favourable opportunity of aboliſhing party diſtinctions, by beſtowing his ſmile indiſcriminately on the friends of both families, he carried to the throne all the partialities that belong to the head of a faction. To exalt the Lancaſtrian party, and depreſs the retainers of the houſe of York, were ſtill the favourite ideas of his mind. The houſe of York was generally beloved by the nation; and for that very reaſon it became every day

PART I. A.D. 1485. day more the object of Henry's hatred and averſion: hence his amiable conſort was treated with contempt, his government grew unpopular, and his reign was filled with plots and inſurrections.

THE firſt inſurrection was headed by the viſcount Lovel, Sir Humphry Stafford, and Thomas, his brother, who had all fought in the cauſe of Richard, and againſt whom, among many others, the parliament, at Henry's inſtigation, had paſſed an act of attainder; though it is not conceivable, how men could be guilty of treaſon for ſupporting the king in poſſeſſion againſt the earl of Richmond, to whom they had never ſworn allegiance, and who had not even aſſumed the title of king. Enraged at ſuch an inſtance of ſeverity, A.D. 1486. they left their ſanctuary at Colcheſter, and flew to arms. The king ſent the duke of Bedford againſt them with a choſen body of troops, and a promiſe of pardon to ſuch as would return to their duty. Lovel, afraid of the fidelity of his followers, privately withdrew, and fled to Flanders. His army ſubmitted to the king's clemency. The other rebels, who had undertaken the ſiege of Worceſter, immediately diſperſed themſelves. The two Staffords took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but as it was found that church had not the privilege of protecting rebels, they were taken thence. The elder was executed at Tyburn, the younger obtained a pardon [1].

THIS rebellion was immediately followed by another, of a more dangerous nature, as it laid deeper hold of the public diſcontents. Henry's jealouſy confined in the Tower Edward Plantagenet, earl of War-

1. Polyd. Virg.

wick,

wick, ſon of the duke of Clarence. This unhappy prince had been formerly detained, in a like confinement, at Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkſhire, by the jealouſy of his uncle Richard. A compariſon was drawn between Henry and that tyrant; and as the Tower was the place where Edward's children had been murdered, a fate not more gentle was feared for Warwick. While the compaſſion of the nation was thus turned towards youth and innocence, expoſed to oppreſſion, a report was ſpread, that Warwick had made his eſcape. A general joy communicated itſelf from face to face, and many ſeemed deſirous to join him. Such a favourable opportunity was not neglected by the enemies of Henry's government. LETTER LII. A.D. 1486.

One Richard Simon, a prieſt of Oxford, and a zealous partizan of the houſe of York, attempted to gratify the popular wiſh by holding up an impoſtor to the nation. For this purpoſe he caſt his eyes upon Lambert Simnel, a baker's ſon, who being endowed with underſtanding beyond his years, and addreſs above his condition, ſeemed well calculated to perſonate a prince of royal extraction. Simnel was taught to aſſume the name and character of the earl of Warwick; and he ſoon appeared ſo perfect in many private particulars relative to that unfortunate prince, to the court of king Edward, and the royal family, that the queen-dowager was ſuppoſed to have given him a leſſon. But how apt ſoever father Simon might find his pupil, or whatever means he might take to procure him inſtruction, he was ſenſible that the impoſture would not bear a cloſe inſpection; he therefore determined to make trial of it firſt in Ireland.

That

PART I.

A. D. 1486.

THAT iſland was zealouſly attached to the houſe of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had reſided there as lord lieutenant: and Henry had been ſo impolitic as to allow it to remain in the ſame condition in which he found it. All the officers appointed by his predeceſſor ſtill retained their authority; ſo that Simnel no ſooner preſented himſelf to Thomas earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claimed his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman believed his tale, and embraced his cauſe. Other noblemen, to whom he communicated the fiction, were no leſs ſanguine in their zeal and belief: the ſtory diffuſed itſelf among the people of inferior condition, naturally more violent and credulous, who liſtened to it with ſtill greater ardour; and the inhabitants of Dublin, with one conſent, tendered their allegiance to Simnel, as the true Plantaganet. They lodged the pretended prince in the caſtle of Dublin, crowned him with a diadem taken from a ſtatue of the bleſſed Virgin, and publicly proclaimed him king, under the appellation of Edward VI. The whole iſland followed the example of the capital: not a ſword was drawn in favour of Henry [2].

THE king was a good deal alarmed, when he received intelligence of this revolt. Though determined always to face his enemies, he ſcrupled at preſent to leave England, where he ſuſpected the conſpiracy had been framed, and where he knew many perſons of condition, and the people in general, were diſpoſed to give it countenance. He therefore held frequent conſultations with his miniſters

2. Ibid.

and

and counſellors, relative to the meaſures moſt proper for the ſafety of his kingdom, and the means of diſcovering the origin of the impoſture. In conſequence of theſe deliberations, the queen-dowager was taken into cuſtody, and confined in the nunnery of Bermondeſey for life. Unwilling, however, to accuſe ſo near a relation of a conſpiracy againſt him, the king alledged, that ſhe was thus puniſhed for yielding up the princeſs Elizabeth now queen, to the tyrant Richard, after ſhe had been ſecretly promiſed to him. Henry's next ſtep was no leſs deliberate. He ordered Warwick to be taken from the Tower, led in proceſſion through the ſtreets of London, conducted to St. Paul's, and there expoſed to the view of the whole people [3]. This expedient had its full effect in England, but in Ireland the people ſtill perſiſted in their revolt: and Henry had ſoon reaſon to apprehend, that the attempt to diſturb his government was not laid on ſuch ſlight foundations, as the means employed ſeemed to indicate.

LETTER LII. A. D. 1486.

JOHN earl of Lincoln, ſon of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldeſt ſiſter of Edward IV. was engaged to take part in the conſpiracy. This nobleman, alarmed at the king's jealouſy of all eminent perſons of the York party, and more eſpecially at his rigour towards Warwick, had retired into Flanders, where lord Lovel was arrived a little before him. He reſided ſome time in the court of his aunt, the ducheſs of Burgundy, by whom he had been invited over. Margaret's boſom flamed with indignation againſt the oppreſſor of her family; and ſhe determined to make him repent of his unreaſonable enmity. After conſulting with Lincoln and Lovel, ſhe therefore hired a body of two thouſand

3. Bacon's *Hiſt. of Henry VII.*

veteran

PART. I. veteran Germans, under the command of Martin
A. D. 1487. Swart, a brave and experienced officer, and ſent them over along with theſe noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland.

THE courage of the Iriſh was much raiſed by this acceſſion of military force, and the countenance of perſons of ſuch high rank; ſo that they formed the bold reſolution of invading England, where they believed the ſpirit of diſaffection to be no leſs prevalent than in Ireland. They accordingly landed at Foudrey in Lancaſhire, and were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great intereſt in that county; but the people in general, averſe againſt an aſſociation with Iriſh and German invaders, convinced of Simnel's impoſture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation in arms, either remained in tranquillity or gave aſſiſtance to the royal army, which was advancing towards the enemy. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in victory, determined to bring the matter to a ſpeedy deciſion; and Henry, emboldened by his native courage no leſs than by the ſuperiority of his numbers, intrepidly advanced to the combat. The
June 6. two armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, where a bloody and obſtinate battle was fought. All the leaders of the rebels were reſolved to conquer or die, and they inſpired their troops with the like reſolution. They were at laſt, however, obliged to give way; and if Henry's victory was purchaſed with loſs, it was entirely deciſive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart, periſhed in the field of battle, together with four thouſand of their followers. Lovel is ſuppoſed to have undergone the ſame fate, as he was never

never more heard of. Simnel and his tutor Simon were taken priſoners. Simon was committed to cloſe cuſtody for life: and his ſacred character only could have ſaved him from a ſeverer fate. Simnel was too contemptible either to excite apprehenſion or reſentment in Henry: he was therefore pardoned, and employed as a ſcullion in the king's kitchen; from which condition he was afterwards advanced to the rank of one of his majeſty's falconers [4].

LETTER LII. A.D. 1487.

HENRY having thus reſtored tranquillity to his kingdom, and ſecurity to his government, had leiſure not only to regulate his domeſtic affairs, but alſo to look abroad. From Scotland, the moſt contiguous ſtate, he had nothing to fear. There reigned James III. a prince of little induſtry and narrow genius. With him Henry concluded a treaty, when he might have demanded his crown: ſo truly pacific was the diſpoſition of this monarch!—Of the ſtates on the continent I have already ſpoken. They were faſt haſtening to that ſituation, in which they have remained, without any material alteration, for near three centuries. The balance of power began to be underſtood. Spain was become formidable by the union of the crowns of Arragon and Caſtile, in the perſons of Ferdinand and Iſabella; but theſe princes were employed in wreſting Granada from the Moors. France, during the laſt fifty years, had made a mighty increaſe in power and dominion: and ſhe was now attempting to ſwallow up Britanny, the laſt independent fief of the monarchy. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by her intereſts, to ſupport

4. Polyd. Virg. Bacon, ubi ſup.

the

PART I. A. D. 1491. the independency of that duchy; the moſt dangerous oppoſition was therefore expected from this quarter. But Henry's parſimonious temper and narrow politics, as I have had occaſion to mention in the hiſtory of France, prevented him from yielding the Bretons any effectual ſupport; and Maximilian, king of the Romans, to whom they afterwards applied, being unable to protect them, they were obliged to ſubmit to the arms of Charles VIII. who prudently married the heireſs of that duchy, in order to conciliate their affections.

HENRY, who ſaw the importance of Britanny to France, and who valued himſelf on his extenſive foreſight and ſound judgment, was now aſhamed of having allowed his moſt uſeful ally to be cruſhed by a ſuperior power. All remedy for his miſcarriage was become impracticable, but he talked loudly of vengeance. The conqueſt of France, in his language, was A. D. 1492. an eaſy matter: and he ſet out on that enterprize at the head of a ſplendid army, after obtaining large ſupplies from his parliament. The nobility, who had credulouſly ſwallowed all the boaſts of the king, were univerſally ſeized with a thirſt of military glory: they dreamed of nothing leſs than carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and putting the crown of France on the head of their ſovereign. Henry, in the mean time, had nothing leſs at heart than war; the gratification of his ruling paſſion was the only purpoſe of this mighty armament; avarice being in him a more powerful motive than either revenge or glory. Secret advances had been made towards peace before his invaſion, and commiſſioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The demands

hands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable poſſeſſion of Britanny an equivalent for any ſum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the propoſals made him. He engaged, by the treaty of Eſtaples, concluded about a month after the Engliſh landed in France, to pay Henry ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand crowns; partly as a reimburſement of the ſums advanced to the ducheſs of Britanny, partly as arrears of the penſion due to Edward IV. and not hitherto diſcharged:—and he ſtipulated a yearly penſion to Henry and his heirs of twenty-five thouſand crowns[5]. LETTER LII. A. D. 1492. Nov. 3.

THUS, as lord Bacon obſerves, the Engliſh monarch made profit upon his ſubjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace. But although the treaty of Eſtaples filled the coffers of Henry, it did very little honour to England; as it put a ſhameful ſeal to the ſubjection of Britanny, which, properly ſupported, would have been a continual thorn in the ſide of France, and have effectually prevented that monarchy from ever becoming formidable to the liberties of Europe. The people however agreed, that the king had fulfilled the promiſe which he made to the parliament when he ſaid, that he would make the war maintain itſelf, and all ranks of men ſeemed now perfectly ſatisfied with his government. He had every reaſon to flatter himſelf with durable peace and tranquillity. His authority was fully eſtabliſhed at home, and his reputation for policy was great abroad: the hopes of all pretenders to his throne were cut off, as well by his marriage, as the iſſue which it had brought him; yet at this height of his proſperity, his

5. Ibid.

PART I. A. D. 1492.

indefatigable enemies raiſed him an adverſary, who long gave him inquietude, and ſometimes even brought him into danger.

THE old ducheſs of Burgundy, ſiſter of Edward IV. ſtill burning with reſentment on account of the depreſſion of her family and its partizans, determined to play off another impoſtor upon Henry. With that view ſhe cauſed a report to be propagated, that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had made his eſcape from the Tower, when his elder brother was murdered, and that he was ſtill alive. Finding this rumour greedily received, her next care was to provide a young man proper to perſonate the unfortunate prince: and for that purpoſe ſhe fixed upon Perkin Warbec, the ſon of a renegado Jew of Tournay.

THIS youth was born in England, and by ſome believed to be the ſon of Edward IV. on account of a certain reſemblance obſervable between him and that amorous monarch. A few years after the birth of Perkin, his reputed father returned to Tournay; where the ſon did not long remain, but, by different accidents, was carried from place to place; ſo that his parentage and paſt life became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the moſt diligent enquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural verſatility and ſagacity of his genius; and he ſeemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or aſſume any character. In this light he had been repreſented to the ducheſs of Burgundy, who immediately deſired to ſee him, and found him to exceed her moſt ſanguine expectations; ſo comely did he appear in his perſon! ſo graceful in his air! ſo courtly

ly in his addreſs! ſo full of dignity in his whole demeanour, and good ſenſe in his converſation!

A. D. 1492.

A YOUNG man of ſuch quick apprehenſion ſoon learned the leſſons neceſſary to be taught him, in order to his perſonating the duke of York; but as ſome time was required, before every thing requiſite could be prepared for this enterprize, Margaret ſent him into Portugal, where he remained a year, unknown to all the world. When that term was expired he landed in Ireland, which ſtill retained its attachment to the houſe of York; and immediately aſſuming to himſelf the name of Richard Plantagenet, there drew to him many partizans among that ignorant and credulous people. The news of this phænomenon reached France; and Charles VIII. prompted by the ſecret ſolicitations of the ducheſs of Burgundy, ſent Perkin an invitation to viſit him at Paris. The impoſtor repaired to the court of France, where he was received with all the marks of reſpect due to the duke of York. The whole kingdom was full of the accompliſhments, as well as the ſingular adventures and misfortunes of the young Plantagenet. From France, the tide of admiration and credulity diffuſed itſelf into England; and Sir George Nevil, Sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, went over to Paris, in order to offer their ſervices to the ſuppoſed duke of York, and to ſhare his fortunes.

PERKIN however was diſmiſſed France, in conſequence of the peace of Eſtaples. He now retired to the ducheſs of Burgundy, craving her protection, and offering to exhibit before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. Margaret affected ignorance of his pretenſions; ſhe even put on the appear-

PART I. A.D. 1493.

ance of diſtruſt, and deſired to be inſtructed, before all the world, in his reaſons for aſſuming the name which he bore. She put many particular queſtions to him, ſeemed aſtoniſhed at his anſwers, and at laſt burſt into joy and admiration of his wonderful deliverance, embracing him as her nephew; the true image of Edward, the ſole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate ſucceſſor to the Engliſh throne. She aſſigned him an equipage ſuitable to his pretended birth, appointed him a guard, engaged every one to pay court to him, and on all occaſions honoured him with the appellation of *The White Roſe of England.*

THE Flemings, ſwayed by Margaret's authority, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal deſcent; and as no ſurmiſe of his real birth had yet been given, the Engliſh from their frequent communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepoſſeſſed in favour of the impoſtor. Not only the populace, ever fond of novelty and deſirous of change, but men of the higheſt birth and quality, diſguſted at the ſeverity of Henry's government, began to turn their eyes towards this new claimant. Their paſſions and prejudices inclined them to give credit to Perkin's pretenſions; and as little oppoſition had been made to the prevailing opinion, a regular conſpiracy was formed againſt the king's authority, and a correſpondence ſettled between the malcontents in Flanders and thoſe in England [6].

HENRY was informed of all theſe particulars, and proceeded reſolutely, though deliberately, in counter-working the deſigns of his enemies. His firſt ob-

6. Polyd. Virg. Bacon, *Hiſt. Hen. VII.*

LETTER LII.

ject was, to aſcertain the death of the real duke of York, which he was able to do with a tolerable degree of certainty, two of the perſons concerned in the murder being yet alive, and agreeing in the ſame ſtory. But he found more difficulty, though in the end he was no leſs ſucceſsful, in diſcovering who the extraordinary perſon was, that ſo boldly advanced pretenſions to his crown. For this purpoſe he diſperſed his ſpies all over Flanders and England; he engaged many to pretend that they had embraced Perkin's party; he bribed the young man's ſervants, his confidants, and even his confeſſor. By theſe means, he was at laſt made acquainted with the whole plan of the conſpiracy, and with the pedigree, adventures, life, and converſation of the pretended duke of York. A.D. 1493.

THE impoſtor's ſtory was immediately publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the nation; and as ſoon as Henry's projects were matured, he made the conſpirators feel the weight of his reſentment. Almoſt in the ſame inſtant he arreſted lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountfort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites, who were convicted of high treaſon for promiſing to aid Perkin, and preſently executed. Sir William Stanley, the lord high chamberlain, was alſo arreſted; but greater and more ſolemn preparations were thought neceſſary for the trial of a man, whoſe authority in the nation, and whoſe domeſtic intimacy with the king, as well as his former ſervices, ſeemed to ſecure him againſt any accuſation or puniſhment. Henry however was determined to take vengeance on all his enemies. He therefore won over Sir Robert Clifford, Perkin's particular confidant, who returning to England, on a promiſe of pardon, accuſed Stanley as his chief abettor; and after ſix weeks delay, which was interpoſed A.D. 1494.

PART I. in order to ſhew the king's lenity and coolneſs, the chamberlain was brought to his trial, condemned, and beheaded [7].

A. D. 1495. THE fate of Stanley made great impreſſion on the minds of the people, and ſtruck Perkin's adherents with the deepeſt diſmay; as they found, from Clifford's deſertion, that all their ſecrets were betrayed. The jealous and ſevere temper of the king kept men in awe, and quelled not only the movements of ſedition, but the very murmurs of faction. A general diſtruſt took place: all mutual confidence was deſtroyed, even among particular friends. Henry, in the meantime, elated with ſucceſs, and little anxious of diſpelling thoſe terrors, or of gaining the affections of the nation, gave every day more and more rein to his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverted law and juſtice, in order to extort fines and compoſitions from his ſubjects. His government was in itſelf highly oppreſſive; but it was ſo much the leſs burthenſome, as he took care, like Lewis XI. to reſtrain the tyranny of the nobles, and permitted nobody to be guilty of injuſtice or oppreſſion but himſelf.

PERKIN now finding his correſpondence with the nobility cut off by Henry's vigilance and ſeverity, and the king's authority daily gaining ground among the people, reſolved to attempt ſomething, which might revive the drooping hopes of his party. With this view he gathered together a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and neceſſitous perſons of all nations, with whom he put to ſea, and appeared off the coaſt of Kent; but finding the inhabitants determined to

7. Ibid.

oppoſe

oppoſe him, he returned to Flanders, and afterwards made a deſcent upon Ireland. The affairs of Ireland, however, were now in ſo good a poſture, that he there met with little ſucceſs; and being tired of the ſavage life he was obliged to lead, while ſkulking among the wild natives, he bent his courſe towards Scotland, and preſented himſelf to James IV. who then reigned in that kingdom. Perkin had been previouſly recommended to this prince by the king of France; and the inſinuating addreſs, and plauſible behaviour of the youth himſelf, ſeem farther to have gained him credit with James, whom years had not yet taught diſtruſt or caution, and who carried his confidence ſo far, as to give him in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, a young lady eminent both for beauty and virtue. LETTER LII. A.D. 1495.

THE jealouſy which then ſubſiſted between the courts of England and Scotland was a new recommendation to Perkin; ſo that James, who had reſolved to make an inroad into England, attended by ſome of his borderers, carried the impoſtor along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raiſe an inſurrection in the northern counties. But in this expectation he found himſelf deceived. Perkin's pretenſions were now become ſtale even in the eyes of the populace: no Engliſhman of any condition joined him. James, after repeated incurſions, attended with various ſucceſs, therefore, found it neceſſary to conclude a truce with Henry, Perkin being privately ordered to depart the kingdom[8]. A.D. 1496. A.D. 1497

IRELAND once more afforded a retreat to the impoſtor. There he hid himſelf for ſome time in the

8. Bacon. *Hiſt. Hen. VII.* Polyd. Virg.

wilds

PART I. A. D. 1497.

wilds and faſtneſſes: but impatient of a condition, which was both diſagreeable and dangerous, he held a conſultation with his followers, Horne, Skelton, and Aſtley, three broken tradeſmen, and by their advice reſolved to try the affections of the Corniſh malcontents, who had lately riſen in rebellion on account of an oppreſſive tax, and whoſe mutinous diſpoſition ſtill ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding the lenity that had been ſhewn them. No ſooner therefore did the pretended prince appear at Bodmin in Cornwal, than the populace, to the number of three thouſand, flocked to his ſtandard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of ſucceſs, took on him, for the firſt time, the appellation of Richard IV. king of England. That the expectations of his followers might not be ſuffered to languiſh, he preſented himſelf before Exeter; and by many fair, though fruitleſs promiſes, invited that city to join him. The inhabitants ſhut their gates againſt him, and he laid ſiege to the place.

HENRY was happy to hear, that the impoſtor had landed in England, and prepared himſelf with alacrity to attack him; for, as he uſually ſaid, he deſired only to ſee his enemies. Perkin, informed of the king's preparations, immediately raiſed the ſiege of Exeter; and although his followers now amounted to the number of ſeven thouſand, and ſeemed ſtill reſolute to maintain his cauſe, he himſelf deſpaired of ſucceſs, and ſecretly withdrew to the ſanctuary of Beaulieu in the New Foreſt. The Corniſh rebels ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and found it was not yet exhauſted in their behalf: a few of their chiefs excepted, they were diſmiſſed with impunity. Henry was more at a loſs how to proceed with regard to Perkin himſelf. Some counſelled him to make the privileges of the

church

church yield to reaſons of ſtate; to drag the impoſtor from the ſanctuary, and inflict on him the puniſhment due to his temerity. But Henry did not think the evil ſo dangerous, as to require ſuch a violent remedy. He therefore employed ſome ſagacious perſons to perſuade Perkin to deliver himſelf into the king's hands, under promiſe of pardon. He did ſo; and Henry conducted him, in a kind of mock triumph to London. LETTER LII. A.D. 1498.

BUT although the impoſtor's life was granted him, he was ſtill detained in cuſtody; and having broke from his keepers, he was afterwards confined in the Tower, where his habits of reſtleſs intrigue and enterprize followed him. He found means to open a correſpondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the ſame priſon; and he engaged that unfortunate prince to embrace a project for his eſcape, which Perkin offered to conduct by murdering the lieutenant of the Tower. The conſpiracy did not eſcape the king's vigilance; and Perkin by this new attempt, after ſo many enormities, having rendered himſelf totally unworthy of mercy, was arraigned, condemned, and hanged at Tyburn. Warwick alſo was brought to trial, found guilty, and executed [9]. A.D. 1499.

THIS violent act of tyranny, by which Henry deſtroyed the laſt remaining male of the line of Plantagenet, begat great diſcontent among the people. They ſaw, with concern, an unhappy prince, who had long been denied the privileges of his birth, and even cut off from the common benefits of nature, now deprived of life itſelf, merely for attempting to ſhake off that

9. Ibid.

op-

PART I. A. D. 1499.

oppreſſion under which he laboured. But theſe domeſtic diſcontents did not weaken the king's government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now perfectly ſecure, paid him rather more deference and attention.

THE prince whoſe alliance Henry valued moſt was Ferdinand of Spain, whoſe vigorous and ſteady policy, always attended with ſucceſs, had rendered him in many reſpects the moſt conſiderable monarch in Europe. And the king of England had at laſt the ſatisfaction of completing a marriage, which had been projected and negociated during the courſe of ſeven years, between Arthur prince of Wales and the infanta Catharine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella: he near ſixteen years of age, ſhe eighteen. But this marriage proved unproſperous. Prince Arthur died a few months after the celebration of the

A. D. 1502.

nuptials; and the king, deſirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and alſo unwilling to reſtore Catherine's dowry, obliged his ſecond ſon Henry, now prince of Wales, to be betrothed to the infanta. Prince Henry made all the oppoſition of which a youth only twelve years old could be ſuppoſed capable: but as the king perſiſted in his reſolution, the marriage was at laſt concluded between the parties. It was productive of the moſt important conſequences!

ANOTHER marriage was alſo celebrated the ſame year, which, in the next age, gave birth to great events: the union of Margaret, Henry's eldeſt daughter, with James IV. of Scotland. When this alliance was deliberated on in the Engliſh council, ſome objected that England might, in conſequence of ſuch marriage, fall

fall under the dominion of Scotland. "No!" replied Henry; "though Scotland ſhould give an heir "to the Engliſh crown, that kingdom will only be- "come an acceſſion to England[10]:"—and the event has proved the juſtice of the obſervation. LETTER LII. A. D. 1502.

THE ſituation of Henry's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now in every reſpect fortunate. All the efforts of the European princes, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, were turned to the ſide of Italy; and the various events which there aroſe made Henry's alliance be eagerly courted by each party, yet intereſted himſelf ſo little as never to touch him with concern or anxiety. Uncontrouled therefore by apprehenſion or oppoſition, he gave full ſcope to his natural propenſity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling paſſion, being increaſed by age, and encouraged by abſolute authority, broke through all reſtraints of ſhame or juſtice. He had found two miniſters, Empſon and Dudley, perfectly qualified to ſecond his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceleſs people. Theſe inſtruments of oppreſſion were both lawyers: the firſt of mean birth, of brutal manners, and of an unrelenting temper; the ſecond better born, better educated, and better bred, but equally unjuſt, ſevere, and inflexible. By their knowledge of law, they were qualified to pervert the forms of juſtice to the oppreſſion of the innocent: and Henry ſupported them in all their iniquities. The ſole purpoſe of the king and his miniſters was to amaſs money, and bring every one under the laſh of their authority.

10. Bacon. *Hiſt. Hen. VII.*

BUT

PART I. But while Henry was enriching himſelf with the ſpoils of his oppreſſed people, he did not neglect the political intereſts of the nation. Philip, archduke of Auſtria, and his wife Joan, heireſs of Caſtile, being thrown upon the Engliſh coaſt in their paſſage to Spain, A. D. 1506. Henry entertained them with a magnificence ſuitable to his dignity, and at an expence by no means agreeable to his temper. But notwithſtanding ſo much ſeeming cordiality, intereſt in this, as in all other things, was the only rule of his conduct. He reſolved to draw ſome advantage from the involuntary viſit paid him by his royal gueſts; and while he ſeemed only intent on diſplaying his hoſpitality, and in furniſhing the means of amuſement, he concluded a treaty of commerce highly beneficial to England[11].

Henry's views did not terminate here: from the intereſts of the nation he turned them to his own. Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV. and brother to the earl of Lincoln, ſlain at the battle of Stoke, had retired to Flanders in diſguſt. The king did not neglect the preſent opportunity of complaining to the archduke of the reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. "I really thought," replied Philip, "that your greatneſs and felicity had ſet you far above apprehenſions from any perſon of ſo little conſequence: but to give you ſatisfaction, I ſhall baniſh him my ſtate." "I expect that you will carry your complaiſance farther," ſaid Henry: "I deſire to have Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can depend on his ſubmiſſion and obedience."—"That meaſure," obſerved Philip, "will reflect diſhonour

11. Rymer, vol. xiii.

"upon

"upon you, as well as myſelf. You will be thought "to have uſed me as a priſoner."—"Then," replied Henry, "the matter is ſettled: I will take upon me "that diſhonour; and ſo your honour is ſafe." Philip found himſelf under the neceſſity of complying; but he firſt exacted a promiſe from Henry, that he would ſpare Suffolk's life [12]. A. D. 1506.

Henry ſurvived theſe tranſactions about two years, but nothing memorable occurs in the remaining part of his reign. His declining health made him turn his thoughts towards that future ſtate of exiſtence, which the ſeverities of his government had rendered a very diſmal proſpect to him. In order to allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured to procure a reconciliation with Heaven by diſtributing alms, and founding religious houſes. Remorſe even ſeized him at times for the abuſe of his authority by Empſon and Dudley, though not to ſuch a degree as to make him ſtop the rapacious hand of thoſe oppreſſors, until death, by its nearer approaches, appalled him with new terrors; and then he ordered, by a general clauſe in his will, that reſtitution ſhould be made to all thoſe whom he had injured [13]. He died of a conſumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign; which was, on the whole, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. A. D. 1509.

Henry VII. was a prince of great talents, both civil and military. He put an end to the civil wars with which the Engliſh nation had long been har-

12. Bacon, ubi ſup. 13. Ibid. Holingſhed. Polyd. Virg.

raſſed;

PART I. raſſed: he maintained peace and order in the ſtate: he depreſſed the former exorbitant power of the barons, by diminiſhing the number of their retainers; while he increaſed the property of the commons, by enabling the nobles to break their ancient entails, thereby encouraging them indirectly to diſſipate their fortunes and diſmember their eſtates: and, together with the friendſhip of ſome foreign princes, he acquired the conſideration and reſpect of all. Hence his ſon Henry VIII. as we ſhall afterward have occaſion to ſee, became the arbiter of Europe. In the mean time we muſt take a view of tranſactions in which England had no ſhare, but which introduced the greateſt æra in the hiſtory of modern times.

LETTER LIII.

A general View of the Continent of EUROPE, *from the Invaſion of* ITALY *by* CHARLES VIII. *in* 1494, *till the League of* CAMBRAY, *in* 1508.

LETTER LIII. I Have hitherto, my dear Philip, generally given you a ſeparate hiſtory of all the principal European ſtates; becauſe each ſtate depended chiefly on itſelf, and was in a great meaſure diſtinct from every other in its political intereſts. But that method will, in future, often be impracticable, by reaſon of the new ſyſtem of policy which was adopted about the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and in conſequence of which a union of intereſts became neceſſary in order to form a balance of power. This ſyſtem took its riſe

riſe from the political ſtate of Europe at that time, and was perfected by the Italian wars, which commenced with the expedition of Charles VIII. in ſupport of his claim to the kingdom of Naples.

LETTER LIII.

A. D. 1494.

THAT prince having married the heireſs of Britanny, as I have already had occaſion to obſerve, and purchaſed peace from the only powers able to moleſt him; the emperor of Germany, and the kings of England and Spain, ſet out on his favourite project, the conqueſt of Naples, to which he had pretenſions as heir of the houſe of Anjou. The army with which Charles undertook this great enterprize did not exceed twenty thouſand men; yet with theſe he was able to over-run all Italy. The Italians who had utterly loſt the uſe of arms, and who, amid continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were aſtoniſhed to meet an enemy, that made the field of battle not a pompous tournament but a ſcene of blood: they were terrified at the aſpect of real war, and ſhrunk on its approach. The impetuoſity of the French valour appeared to them irreſiſtible. Pope Alexander VI. of infamous memory, the Venetians, and Ludovico Sforza, ſurnamed the Moor, duke of Milan, who had invited Charles into Italy, alarmed at his progreſs, which was equally unwiſhed and unexpected, endeavoured to throw obſtacles in his way almoſt as ſoon as he had croſſed the Alps.

ALL oppoſition however was in vain. Charles entered in triumph the city of Florence, where the family of Medicis ſtill held the chief authority. He delivered Sienna and Piſa from the Tuſcan yoke: he preſcribed ſuch terms to the Florentines as his circumſtances rendered neceſſary, and their ſituation obliged them

PART I. A. D. 1494.

them to comply with: he marched to Rome, where Alexander VI. had ineffectually intrigued againſt him; and he took poſſeſſion of that city as a conqueror. The pope had taken refuge in the caſtle of St. Angelo; but no ſooner did he ſee the French cannon pointed againſt its feeble ramparts, than he offered to capitulate: and it coſt him only a cardinal's hat to make his peace with the king. The preſident Briſſonet, who from a lawyer was become an archbiſhop, perſuaded Charles to this accommodation. In reward of his ſervices he obtained the purple [1]. The king's confeſſor was likewiſe in the ſecret; and Charles, whoſe intereſt it was to have depoſed the pope, forgave him, and afterwards repented of his lenity.

No pontiff ſurely ever more deſerved the indignation of a Chriſtian prince. He and the Venetians had applied to the Turkiſh ſultan Bajazet II. ſon and ſucceſſor of Mahomet II. to aſſiſt them in driving the French monarch out of Italy. It is alſo aſſerted, that the pope had ſent one Bozzo in quality of nuncio to the court of Conſtantinople, and that the alliance between his Holineſs and the ſultan was purchaſed by one of thoſe inhuman crimes, which are not committed without horror, even within the walls of the ſeraglio.

ALEXANDER VI. by an extraordinary chain of events, had at that time in his poſſeſſion the perſon of Zizim, brother to Bajazet II. The manner in which this unfortunate prince fell into the hands of the pope was as follows:

1. Georgii Flori, *de Bel. Ital.* Phil. de Com liv. vii chap. xii.

ZIZIM,

LETTER LIII.

ZIZIM, who was adored by the Turks, had disputed the empire with Bajazet; and was defeated. Fortune prevailed over the prayers of the people; and this unhappy ſon of Mahomet II. the terror of the Chriſtian name, had recourſe in his diſtreſs to the knights of Rhodes, now the knights of Malta. They at firſt received him, as a prince to whom they were bound to afford protection by the laws of hoſpitality, and who might one day be of uſe to them in their wars againſt the Infidels; but they ſoon afterward treated him as a priſoner, and Bajazet agreed to pay them forty thouſand ſequins annually, on condition that they ſhould not ſuffer Zizim to return into Turky. The knights conveyed him to one of their commanderies at Poitou, in France; and Charles VIII. received, at the ſame time, an ambaſſador from Bajazet II. and a nuncio from pope Innocent VIII. Alexander's predeceſſor, relative to this valuable captive. The ſultan claimed him as his ſubject, and the pope wanted to have poſſeſſion of his perſon, as a pledge for the ſafety of Italy againſt the attempts of the Turks. Charles ſent him to the pope. The pontiff received him with all the ſplendour and magnificence which the ſovereign of Rome could ſhew to the brother of the ſovereign of Conſtantinople; and Paul Jovius ſays, that Alexander VI. ſold Zizim's life, in a treaty which he negociated with Bajazet. But be that as it may, the king of France, full of his vaſt projects, and certain of the conqueſt of Naples, now wanted to become formidable to the ſultan, by having the perſon of this unfortunate prince in his power. The pope delivered him to Charles, but poiſoned, as is ſuppoſed. It is at leaſt certain that he died ſoon after; and the character of Alexander VI. makes it probable, that

A. D. 1494

A. D. 1495.

PART I. A. D. 1495.

three hundred thouſand ducats, ſaid to have been offered by Bajazet, were eſteemed an equivalent for ſuch a crime [2].

MATTERS being thus ſettled between the king and the pope, who took an oath not to diſturb Charles in his conqueſts, Alexander was ſet at liberty, and appeared again as pontiff on the Vatican theatre. There, in a public conſiſtory, the French monarch came to pay him what is called the homage of obedience, aſſiſted by John Gannai, firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris, who might certainly have been better employed elſewhere, than at ſuch a ceremony. Charles now kiſſed the feet of the perſon whom, two days before, he would have condemned as a criminal; and to complete the ludicrous ſcene, he ſerved his Holineſs at high maſs [3].

CHARLEMAGNE, as we have ſeen, cauſed himſelf to be declared emperor of the Weſt at Rome: Charles VIII. was, in the ſame city, declared emperor of the Eaſt; but after a very different manner. One Paleologus, nephew to the prince of that name, who loſt Conſtantinople and his life, made an empty ceſſion, in favour of Charles and his ſucceſſors, of an empire which could not be recovered [4].

AFTER this ceremony, Charles continued his progreſs towards Naples; where Alphonſo II. ſtruck with terror at the approach of the French army, gave the world an example of a new kind of cowardice and puſilanimity. He fled privately to Sicily, and took

2. Phil. de Commin. Paul. Jov. Arnoldi Feroni. Guicciardini. 3. G. Flori. 4. Phil. de Commin.

refuge

refuge in a cloiſter; while Ferdinand his ſon, now become king by his abdication, finding himſelf unable to retrieve the public affairs, rendered deſperate by his father's flight, releaſed his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, and retired to the iſland of Iſchia. Charles thus left maſter of his favourite object, the kingdom of Naples, after having marched thither, from the bottom of the Alps, with as much rapidity, and almoſt as little oppoſition, as if he had been on a progreſs through his own dominions, took quiet poſſeſſion of the Neapolitan throne, and intimidated, or gave law, to every power in Italy [5].

A. D. 1495.

SUCH, my dear Philip, was the reſult of this expedition, which muſt be conſidered as the firſt great exertion of thoſe new powers which the princes of Europe had acquired, and now began to exerciſe. Its effects were no leſs conſiderable than its ſucceſs had been aſtoniſhing. The Italians, unable to reſiſt the force of Charles, permitted him to hold on his courſe undiſturbed. But they quickly perceived, that although no ſingle power, which they could rouſe to action, was a match for ſuch an enemy, yet a confederacy might accompliſh what its ſeparate members durſt not attempt. To this expedient, therefore, they had recourſe; the only one that remained, to deliver or preſerve them from the French yoke; and while Charles inconſiderately waſted his time at Naples, in feſtivals and triumphs on account of his paſt ſucceſſes, or was fondly dreaming of future conqueſts in the Eaſt, to the empire of which he now aſpired, they formed againſt him a powerful combination of almoſt all the Italian princes and ſtates; the

5. And. de la Vig. *Conq. de la Nap.* Phil. de Commin.

PART I. A. D. 1495 heads of which were the pope, the Venetians, the duke of Milan, ſupported by the emperor Maximilian, who had lately ſucceeded his father Frederic III. and by their Catholic majeſties, Ferdinand and Iſabella [6].

THE union of ſo many powers, who ſuſpended, or forgot their particular animoſities, that they might act with concert againſt an enemy who had become formidable to them all, awakened Charles from his thoughtleſs ſecurity. He ſaw now no proſpect of ſafety but in returning to France. The confederates had aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand men, in order to obſtruct his march. Charles had only nine A. D. 1496. thouſand men with him. The two armies met in the valley of Fornova; and though the French with a daring courage, which more than made up for their inferiority in numbers, broke the army of the allies, and gained a victory, which opened to their monarch a ſafe paſſage into his own territories, he was ſtripped of all his conqueſts in Italy, in as ſhort a time as he had gained them. The exiled Ferdinand, by the help of Gonſalvo de Cordova, ſurnamed the Great Captain, whom their Catholic majeſties had ſent to his aſſiſtance, ſpeedily recovered the whole kingdom of Naples. He died ſoon after, and left his uncle Frederic in full poſſeſſion of the throne [7]; ſo that the political ſyſtem of Italy reſumed the ſame appearance as before the French invaſion.

CHARLES, after his return to France, gave himſelf up to thoſe paſtimes and pleaſures which had been the bane of his Italian expedition. In the mean time A. D. 1498. his health decayed, and he died without iſſue in the

6. Phil. de Commin. Mariana. 7. G. Flori. Guicciardini.

twenty-

twenty-eighth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth his reign; "a man of a ſmall body and ſhort ſtature, "ſays Comines, but ſo good that it is not poſſible to "ſee a better creature, and ſo ſweet and gentle in diſ- "poſition, that it is not known that he ever either "gave or took offence in his life." He was ſucceed- ed in the throne of France by the duke of Orleans, under the title of Lewis XII. to which was after- wards added the moſt glorious of all appellations, that of *Father of his People.*

LETTER LIII.

A.D. 1498.

LEWIS was thirty-ſix years of age when he aſcend- ed the throne; and from that moment he forgot all his perſonal reſentments. When ſome of his courtiers put him in mind, that certain perſons who had for- merly been his enemies, were now in his power, he made that ever memorable reply:—"The king of "France revenges not the injuries of the duke of Or- "leans." It is one thing, however, to deliver a fine maxim, and another to make it the rule of one's con- duct: Lewis did both. But his fatal ambition of reigning in Italy brought many misfortunes upon himſelf and his kingdom, notwithſtanding his pru- dence and paternal affection for his ſubjects.

THE claim of Lewis XII. to Naples, was the ſame as that of Charles VIII. and he demanded the duchy of Milan in right of one of his grandmothers, daughter of John Galeazo Viſconti, firſt duke of that teritory; who had ſtipulated, in the marriage-contract of his daughter Valentine, that in caſe of failure of heirs male in the family of Viſconti, the duchy of Milan ſhould deſcend to the poſterity of this Valentine and the duke of Orleans. That event took place. The

7. G. Flori. Guicciardini.

PART I. A.D. 1498.

family of Viſconti became extinct in 1447; but the houſe of Orleans had hitherto been prevented, by various accidents, from making good their claim; and the duchy of Milan was ſtill held by the deſcendants of Francis Sforza, a ſoldier of fortune, who having married the natural daughter of the laſt legal duke, raiſed himſelf by his valour and talents to the ducal throne. Lewis now prepared to aſſert his right with ardour, and he ſucceeded. But before I relate the particulars of that conqueſt, it will be neceſſary to ſay a few words of pope Alexander VI. and his ſon Cæſar Borgia, on account of their alliance with the king of France, and the ſhare which they had in the wars of Italy; remarking by the way, that Ludovico Sforza, ſurnamed the Moor, having murdered his nephew, and taken poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, had been confirmed in it, in 1494, by the inveſtiture of the emperor Maximilian, who married his daughter[8].

ALEXANDER VI. was at that time engaged in two great deſigns: one was to recover for the Patrimony of St. Peter, the many territories of which it was ſaid to have been deprived; and the other, the exaltation of his ſon Cæſar Borgia. Infamous as his conduct was, it did not in the leaſt impair his authority. He was publicly accuſed of a criminal correſpondence with his own ſiſter, whom he took away from three huſbands ſucceſſively; and he cauſed the laſt to be aſſaſſinated, that he might beſtow her in marriage on the heir of the houſe of Eſte. The nuptials were celebrated in the Vatican by the moſt ſhameleſs diverſions that debauch had ever invented for the confuſion of modeſty. Fifty courtezans danced naked before

8. Du Mont. *Corp. Diplom.* tom. iii.

this

LETTER LIII.

this inceſtuous family; and prizes were given to thoſe who exhibited the moſt laſcivious motions. The duke of Gandia, and Cæſar Borgia, at that time cardinal and archbiſhop of Valentia in Spain, are ſaid to have publicly diſputed the favours of their ſiſter Lucretia. The duke of Gandia was aſſaſſinated at Rome, and Cæſar Borgia was the ſuppoſed author of the murder[9]. The perſonal eſtates of the cardinals, at their deceaſe, belong to the pope: and Alexander VI. was ſtrongly ſuſpected of haſtening the death of more than one member of the ſacred college, that he might become poſſeſſed of their treaſures. But, notwithſtanding theſe enormities, the people of Rome obeyed without murmuring, and this pontiff's friendſhip was courted by all the potentates in Europe.

A. D. 1498.

LEWIS XII. had many reaſons for deſiring the friendſhip of Alexander. He wanted to be divorced from his wife Joan, the daughter of Lewis XI. who was crooked and ugly, and with whom he had lived in wedlock upwards of twenty-two years, without having any children. No law, but the law of nature, could authoriſe ſuch a ſeparation; and yet diſguſt and and policy made it neceſſary. The king diſliked his wife, and was deſirous of poſterity. Anne of Britanny, the queen dowager, ſtill retained that tenderneſs which ſhe had felt for him, when duke of Orleans. His paſſion for her was not yet extinguiſhed; and unleſs he married her, or at leaſt if ſhe married another, Britanny muſt be for ever diſmembered from the French monarchy.

THESE were powerful motives; but the authority of the holy ſee was neceſſary to give a ſanction to

9. Paul. Jov. Arnoldi Feroni.

PART I. A. D. 1498.

them. It had long been cuſtomary to apply to the pope for permiſſion to marry a relation, or put away a wife: Lewis applied to Alexander VI. who never ſcrupled at any indulgence in which he could find his intereſt. The bull of divorce was iſſued; and Cæſar Borgia was ſent with it into France, with power to negociate with the king on the ſubject of his Italian claims. But this ſon of the church, in a double ſenſe, did not leave Rome till he was aſſured of the duchy of Valentinois, a company of one hundred armed men, and a penſion of twenty thouſand livres. All theſe Lewis not only agreed to, but alſo promiſed to procure for him the ſiſter of the king of Navarre. The ambitious Borgia, though a cardinal and an archbiſhop, now changed his eccleſiaſtical character for a ſecular one; and pope Alexander granted, at one and the ſame time, a diſpenſation for his ſon to quit the church, and for the king of France to quit his wife [10]. Matters were quickly ſettled between Lewis and the queen dowager, and the French prepared for a freſh invaſion of Italy.

In this enterprize Lewis had the Venetians on his ſide, who were to have a ſhare in the ſpoils of the Milaneſe. The emperor Maximilian, whoſe buſineſs

10. Du Clos. Guicciardini. Some particulars relative to this ſeparation are ſufficiently curious to deſerve notice. Lewis XII. pretended that he had never conſummated his marriage with the princeſs Joan, and the pope admitted his aſſertion, as an argument for the divorce. But Joan herſelf, when queſtioned, declared in the moſt ſolemn manner, that the marriage had been conſummated. She even mentioned the time, place, and circumſtances: and on being aſked by the king's proctor, whether ſhe had not ſome natural defects, unuſual in her ſex, ſhe promptly replied, "I know I am neither ſo well made nor well "favoured, as the greater part of my ſex; but I have no imperfection "that renders me unfit for marriage!" *Proces du Divorce de Jeanne de France.*

it

it was to have defended the duke of Milan, his father-in-law and vaſſal, was not at that time in a condition to aſſiſt him. He could with difficulty make head againſt the Swiſs, who had entirely freed themſelves from the Auſtrian dominion: He therefore acted, upon this occaſion, the feigned part of indifference. LETTER LIII. A.D. 1498.

THE French monarch terminated amicably ſome diſputes which he had with Philip the Handſome, the emperor's ſon, and father of Charles V. and this Philip did homage to France for the counties of Flanders and Artois. Lewis likewiſe renewed the treaty concluded by Charles VIII. with England; and being now ſecure on all ſides, he made his army croſs the Alps. A.D. 1499.

THIS army did not exceed twenty thouſand men; yet in the ſpace of twenty days, the French made themſelves maſters of the duchy of Milan and the republic of Genoa, while the Venetians occupied the territory of Cremona. The king, clad in ducal robes, entered the city of Milan, in triumph; and the duke, Ludovico Sforza, being betrayed, ſoon after, by the Swiſs in his pay, was ſent priſoner into France, and ſhut up in the caſtle of Loches, where he lay unpitied during the remainder of his days[11]. A.D. 1500.

COULD Lewis here have ſet bounds to his ambition, ſatisfied with the conqueſt of Milan, he was enabled by his ſituation to preſcribe laws to all the Italian princes and ſtates, and to hold the balance among them. But the deſire of recovering the kingdom of Naples engaged him in new projects; and as he fore-

11. Brantome. Guicciardini.

PART I. A. D. 1500. saw opposition from Ferdinand, the Catholic king, who had formerly expelled the French from that country, and who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic, king of Naples, he endeavoured by offers of interest, to which the ears of that monarch were never deaf, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. A plan was accordingly settled for the expulsion of Frederic, and the partition of his A. D. 1501. dominions. Frederic, unable to resist the force of the combined monarchs, each of whom was far his superior in power, resigned his sceptre. But he had the satisfaction to see Naples prove the source of contention among his conquerors. Lewis and Ferdinand, though they had concurred in making the conquest, differed about the division of it. From allies they became enemies; and Gonsalvo de Cordova, partly by the exertion of those military talents which A. D. 1503. gave him a just title to the appellation of the Great Captain, bestowed upon him by his countrymen, partly by such shameless and frequent violations of the most solemn engagements, as leave an indelible stain upon his memory, stripped the French of all they possessed in the Neapolitan dominions, and secured the entire possession of the disputed kingdom to his no less perfidious master [12].

Meanwhile Alexander VI. subdued the fiefs in Romania by the arms of his son Cæsar Borgia. There is not one act of oppression, subtle artifice, heroic courage, or atrocious villainy, which this son left unpractised. He made use of more art and dexterity to get possession of eight or ten little towns, and to rid himself of a few noblemen, who stood in his way, than Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar,

12. Paul. Jov. Guicciardini. Mezeray.

Gengiz-

Gengiz-Kan, or Tamerlane had employed to ſubdue the greater part of the habitable globe. Every thing ſeemed to conſpire to his aggrandiſement. His father was armed with the ſpiritual, and he with the temporal power of the church. But his good fortune was of ſhort duration: he laboured, without knowing it, for the Patrimony of St. Peter. LETTER LIII. A.D. 1503.

ALEXANDER VI. died in 1503, and left behind him a more deteſtable memory in Europe than Nero or Caligula had done in the Roman empire; the ſanctity of his ſtation adding a double tinge to his guilt. The papacy, however, was indebted to him for an acceſſion to its temporal dominions. Cæſar Borgia loſt all the fruits of his crimes, and the church profited by them. Moſt of the cities which he had conquered choſe another maſter, on the death of his father; and pope Julius II. obliged him ſoon after to deliver up the reſt.

ABANDONED by friends, allies, and relations, Borgia, in a ſhort time, had nothing left of all his wicked greatneſs; and, to complete his miſerable cataſtrophe, he who had betrayed ſo many, was at laſt betrayed. Gonſalvo de Cordova, the Great Captain, with whom he had truſted his perſon, ſent him priſoner into Spain. Lewis XII. took from him the duchy of Valentinois and his penſion. All the world forſook him. Having found means, however, to eſcape from priſon, he ſought refuge in Navarre; and courage, which is not properly a virtue, but a happy qualification, common alike to the wicked and the virtuous, did not deſert him in his diſtreſſes. While in this aſylum, he ſtill maintained every part of his character. He carried

PART I. carried on intrigues, and he commanded in perſon the
A. D. 1503. army of the king of Navarre, his father-in-law; during a war which that prince entered into by the perſuaſion of Borgia, to diſpoſſeſs his vaſſals of their eſtates, as this inhuman tyrant had robbed the vaſſals of the Holy See. He was ſlain fighting[13]: "A glorious end!" ſays Voltaire; but it is ſurely only glorious to fall in a good cauſe, and Borgia's was confeſſedly a bad one. We have no occaſion, therefore, to think his fall too favourable. He wrought his own ruin, after having completed his diſgrace; a leſſon more ſtriking, than if he had ſuffered by the hands of the public executioner.

A. D. 1504. LEWIS XII. made a new attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples, and was again diſappointed. This ſecond diſappointment was occaſioned by the ambition of his miniſter, cardinal d'Amboiſe, who ſold his maſter's intereſt for a promiſe of the papacy; by the policy of
A. D. 1505. Ferdinand, and by the bravery of the Great Captain. Lewis was now ſincerely deſirous of peace; and willing to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Milan, he engaged, by the treaty of Blois, to pay the emperor Maximilian a large ſum for the inveſtiture of that duchy. By this treaty alſo, the king of France promiſed his daughter in marriage to Charles of Auſtria, grandſon of Maximilian, and Ferdinand, with Britanny, Burgundy, and all his Italian dominions, as her dower, in caſe he died without heirs male. But this article of the treaty was wiſely oppoſed by the
A. D. 1506. ſtates of France[14]; and the princeſs Anne was given in marriage to the count of Angoulême, firſt prince of the blood, and preſumptive heir to the crown,

13. Ibid. 14. Mezeray, tom. iv. Henault. tom. i.

afterwards

afterwards Francis I. Thus Britanny, which had been twice annexed to the French monarchy, and twice near being ſevered from it, was now incorporated with it, and Burgundy alſo was preſerved. LETTER LIII. A.D. 1506.

DURING the courſe of theſe tranſactions, Iſabella, queen of Caſtile died, and Philip of Auſtria went to take poſſeſſion of that kingdom, as heir to his mother-in-law. He alſo died in a ſhort time; and, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, left the king of France governor to his ſon Charles.

THE balance of power was now happily poiſed among the principal European ſtates, and might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterpriſing genius of an ambitious pontiff, excited anew the flames of war and diſcord among them. But the cauſe of that diſcord, my dear Philip, and its conſequences, muſt be inveſtigated in a future Letter.

LETTER

LETTER LIV.

EUROPE *from the* LEAGUE *of* CAMBRAY *to the Death of* LEWIS XII.

LETTER LIV. A. D. 1508.

JULIUS II. to whom the popes are particularly indebted for their temporal dominion, had formed the project of driving all foreigners out of Italy. But he was desirous in the first place, of humbling the Venetians, who had not only declined entering into his views, but had refused to restore the places which they had dismembered from the territory of the church. The league of Cambray was the consequence of their refusal.

LET us take a view of that republic, which excited the jealousy of so many princes and states, and cemented this famous confederacy.

VENICE, my dear Philip, took its rise, as I have had occasion to notice, during the inroads of the Barbarians, in the fifth century. The little islands of the Adriatic gulf afforded an asylum to the neighbouring inhabitants, who originally lived by fishing, and afterwards grew rich and powerful by commerce. They again got footing on the Terra Firma; and Venice now extended her dominion from the lake of Como to the middle of Dalmatia. The Turks had despoiled her of what she had taken from the Christian emperors in Greece; but she still retained the large island of Candia or Crete, and soon got possession of Cyprus.

THE civil constitution of Venice, established on a firm basis, had suffered no considerable alteration for several

LETTER LIV.

A.D. 1508.

ſeveral centuries; and the republic, during the ſame courſe of time, had conducted its affairs with an uniform and vigorous ſpirit of policy, which gave it great advantage over other ſtates, whoſe views and meaſures changed as often as the form of their government, or the perſons who adminiſtered it. But the conſtitution of this republic had one eſſential fault; it wanted a counterpoiſe to the power of the nobles, and did not offer proper encouragement to the common people. No private citizen of Venice can riſe to the rank of a ſenator, or occupy any conſiderable employment in the ſtate.

SUCH a partial ariſtocracy, which lodges all power in the hands of a few members of the community, is naturally jealous. The Venetian nobles diſtruſted their own ſubjects, and were afraid of allowing them the uſe of arms: the military force of the republic, therefore, conſiſted wholly of foreign mercenaries. Nor was the command of theſe ever truſted to noble Venetians, leſt they ſhould acquire ſuch influence over the army as might endanger public liberty. A ſoldier of fortune was placed at the head of the armies of the commonwealth; and to obtain that honour was the great object of the Italian *Condottieri*, or leaders of bands, who made a trade of war, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and hired out troops to different princes and ſtates [1].

A REPUBLIC that diſarmed its ſubjects, and excluded its nobles from military command, muſt have carried on warlike enterprizes at great diſadvantage; but its commerce was an inexhauſtible ſource

1. Sandi *Storia Civil. Veneziana.*

PART I. A.D. 1508.

of opulence. All the nations in Europe depended upon the Venetians, not only for the precious commodities of the Eaſt, which they imported by the way of Egypt, but for various manufactures fabricated by them alone, or finiſhed with a dexterity and elegance unknown in other countries. From this extenſive commerce, the ſtate derived ſuch immenſe ſupplies, as concealed the vices in its conſtitution, and enabled it to keep on foot ſuch armies as were an overmatch for the force which any of its neighbours could bring into the field. Venice became an object of terror to the Italian ſtates. Her wealth was viewed with envy by the greateſt monarchs, who could not vie with her private citizens in the magnificence of their buildings, in the richneſs of their dreſs and furniture, or in ſplendor and elegance of living. And Julius II. whoſe ambition and abilities were equal to thoſe of any pontiff who had ever ſat on the papal throne, by working upon the fears of the Italians, and upon the avarice of the princes beyond the Alps, induced them to form againſt this proud republic one of the moſt extenſive confederacies that Europe had ever beheld.

THE emperor, the king of France, the king of Spain, and the pope, were principals in the league of Cambray, to which almoſt all the princes of Italy acceded; the leaſt conſiderable of them hoping for ſome ſhare in the ſpoils of a ſtate, which they deemed to be devoted to inevitable deſtruction. The Venetians might have diverted this ſtorm, or have broken its force; but with a preſumptuous raſhneſs, to which there is nothing ſimilar in the courſe of their hiſtory, they waited its approach. The impetuous valour of the French rendered ineffectual all their precautions for the ſafety of the republic; and the battle of Aignadel,

LETTER LIV.

A.D. 1509.

nade, fought near the river Adda, entirely ruined the army on which they relied for defence. Julius II. ſeized all the towns which they held in the eccleſiaſtical territories; and Ferdinand re-annexed the places which they had got poſſeſſion of on the coaſt of Calabria, to his Neapolitan dominions. Maximilian, at the head of a powerful army, advanced towards Venice on one ſide; the French puſhed their conqueſts on the other; and the Venetians ſurrounded by ſo many enemies, and left without one ally, ſunk from the height of preſumption to the depths of deſpair. They abandoned all their territories on the continent, and ſhut themſelves up in their capital, as their laſt refuge, and the only place which they hoped to preſerve [2].

Julius having thus, in the humiliation of the Venetians, attained his firſt object, began to think of the ſecond, more worthy of his enterpriſing genius, "the expulſion of every foreign power out of Italy." For this purpoſe it was neceſſary to diſſolve the League of Cambray, and ſow diſſenſions among thoſe princes whom he had formerly united. He abſolved the Venetians, on their ceding to him the places claimed by the Holy See, from that anathema which had been pronounced againſt them; and he concluded an alliance with the republic againſt thoſe very French whom he had called in to oppreſs it. Their imperiouſneſs had rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the Italians; and Julius II. who was a native of Genoa, was greatly deſirous of revenging upon Lewis the triumphant oſtentation with which he had puniſhed the revolt of that city, whoſe records he cauſed to be burnt, and whoſe

2. Guicciardini. Mezeray. *Hiſt. de la Ligue faite a Cambray*, par M. l'Abbé du Bos.

PART I. A.D. 1509. principal citizens he obliged to kneel at the foot of his throne, while he pronounced their ſentence; which, after all, was only to pay a trifling fine. On Lewis, therefore, the haughty pontiff was determined that the tempeſt firſt ſhould fall; and, in order to pave the way for this bold project, he at once ſought for a ground of quarrel with that monarch, and courted the alliance of foreign princes. He declared war againſt the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis; he ſolicited the favour of Henry VIII. who had lately aſcended the throne of England, by ſending him a ſacred roſe, perfumed with muſk, and anointed with chriſm: he detached Ferdinand from the league, and drew him over to his party, by granting him the full inveſtiture of the kingdom of Naples; and what A.D. 1510. he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiſs, whoſe ſubſidy Lewis had refuſed to augment, and whom he had offended by ſome contumelious expreſſions [3].

THE confederacy of Cambray being thus diſſolved, the face of affairs ſoon began to wear a very different appearance in Italy. The Venetians, now recovered from their conſternation, were able to make head againſt the emperor, and even to regain part of the territory which they had loſt. The pope and his allies made war upon the duke of Ferrara, the ally of France. They were oppoſed by the French troops, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Bologna; but they afterwards formed that of Mirandola, where Julius appeared in perſon, viſited the trenches, haſtened the operations, and entered the breach, with all the ardour of a young ſoldier in purſuit of military glory [4].

3. Id. Ibid. Spelm. *Concil.* 4. Guicciardini.

LEWIS,

LEWIS, in the mean time, was at a loſs how to act: over-awed by his veneration for the vicar of Chriſt, he was afraid to let his generals take thoſe advantages which fortune threw in their way. He was, therefore, deſirous to diveſt Julius of that ſacred character, which chiefly rendered him formidable. With this view, in conjunction with Maximilian, who was himſelf ambitious of the papacy; and by the authority of ſome diſguſted cardinals, he ſummoned a general council at Piſa, in order to reform the church, and check the exorbitancies of the ſovereign pontiff. A. D. 1511. But Lewis was as irreſolute in ſupporting the council, as in inſtructing his generals. Julius ſaw his timidity, and availed himſelf of it. He ſummoned a council at the Lateran: he put Piſa under an interdict, and all the places that ſhould give ſhelter to the ſchiſmatical council; he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it; he even pointed his ſpiritual thunder againſt the princes who adhered to it: he freed their ſubjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take poſſeſſion of them [5].

AMBITION lays hold of the ſlighteſt pretences to accompliſh its deſigns. The crafty Ferdinand, who had obtained the ſurname of Catholic, but who regarded the cauſe of the pope and of religion ſolely as a cover to his ſelfiſh politics, made this anathema of Julius a pretext for robbing the king of Navarre of his dominions; as an ally of France, and conſequently included in the bull fulminated againſt the adherents of the council of Piſa. The method which he took to effect this conqueſt, was no leſs ſingular than the meaſure. Henry VIII. his ſon-in-law, na-

5. Spelm. *Concil.*

PART I. A. D. 1511.

turally ſincere and ſanguine in temper, was moved with a hearty deſire of protecting the pope from that oppreſſion, to which he believed him expoſed from the French monarch. Impatient alſo of acquiring that diſtinction in Europe, to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amid the noiſe of arms: he was, therefore, led to join that alliance, which the pope, Spain, and Venice, had formed againſt Lewis. Ferdinand ſaw his intemperate ardour, and made him the inſtrument of his own baſe ambition.

THIS artful prince, who conſidered his cloſe connexion with Henry only as the means of taking advantage of his inexperience, adviſed him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himſelf ſhould not have it in his power to aſſiſt him: he exhorted him rather to ſend forces to Fontarabia, whence he could eaſily make a conqueſt of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the Engliſh had ſtill ſome adherents. He promiſed to forward this conqueſt by the junction of a Spaniſh army: and ſo zealous did he ſeem to promote the intereſts of his ſon-in-law, that he even ſent veſſels to England, in order to tranſport the forces which Henry had levied for that purpoſe. But the marquis of Dorſet, who commanded the Engliſh army, was no ſooner landed in Guipuſcoa, than Ferdinand ſuggeſted the neceſſity of firſt ſubduing the kingdom of Navarre, which lies on the frontiers between France and Spain.

DORSET, however, having no orders to make war any where but in France, refuſed to take any part in that enterprize: he therefore remained in his quarters at Fontarabia. But ſo ſubtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, that the Engliſh army, even while it lay in that ſituation, was almoſt equally ſerviceable to his purpoſe, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to ſuccour the kingdom of Navarre; ſo that the duke of Alva, the Spaniſh general, having full leiſure to conduct his operations, after ſubduing the ſmaller towns, made himſelf maſter of Pampeluna, the capital, and obliged John d'Albert the ſovereign, to ſeek refuge in France. Dorſet was obliged to return to England, with his army much diminiſhed by want and ſickneſs, without being able to effect any thing for the intereſts of his maſter; and Henry, enraged at his ill ſucceſs, was with difficulty made ſenſible of the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, his deceitful father-in-law[6]. LETTER LIV. A D. 1512.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting on the other ſide of the Pyrenees, events of ſtill greater moment happened beyond the Alps. Though the war which England waged againſt France, brought no advantage to the former kingdom, it was of much prejudice to the latter; and by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces from Italy, loſt him the ſuperiority which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign had acquired in that country. Gaſton de Foix, his nephew, had been entruſted with the command of the French forces; and at the age of twenty-three, exhibited, in a few months, ſuch feats of military ſkill and valour, as were ſufficient to render illuſtrious the life of the oldeſt general. His career terminated with the famous battle of Ravenna; which, after the moſt obſtinate diſpute, he gained over the Spaniſh and papal armies. He periſhed the moment his victory was April 11.

6. Herbert, *Hiſt. Hen. VIII.* Polyd. Virg.

complete,

PART I. complete, and with him periſhed the fortune of the
A.D. 1512. French arms in Italy. The Swiſs, who had now rendered themſelves formidable by their bands of diſciplined infantry, invaded the duchy of Milan with a numerous army, and excited its inconſtant inhabitants to a revolt againſt the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of that duchy; and Lewis, in the courſe of a few weeks, totally loſt his Italian conqueſts. Maximilian Sforza, the ſon of Ludovico, was again reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of Milan, and the Genoeſe recovered their liberty [7].

THE expulſion of the French gave much pleaſure to the pope; more eſpecially as he owed it to the Swiſs, whom he had honoured with the title of *Defenders of the Holy See*, and whoſe councils he hoped always to govern. Julius II. however, enjoyed this ſatisfaction
A.D. 1513. but a ſhort time. He died ſuddenly, at an advanced age, and was ſucceeded in the pontificate by John of Medicis, ſon of the celebrated Laurence, who had governed Florence with ſo much reputation, and obtained the appellation of *Father of the Muſes*. John took the name of Leo X. and proved one of the moſt illuſtrious pontiffs that ever ſat on the papal throne. Humane, generous, affable, the patron of every art, and the friend of every virtue, he had a ſoul no leſs capable of forming great deſigns than his predeceſſor; but he was more delicate in employing means for the execution of them. By the negociations of Leo, who adhered to the political ſyſtem of Julius, the emperor Maximilian was detached from the French intereſt; and Henry VIII. notwithſtanding his diſappointments in the former campaign, was ſtill encouraged to proſecute his warlike meaſures againſt Lewis [8].

7. Guicciardini. 8. Father Paul. Guicciardini. Herbert.

In

LETTER LIV.

IN order to prevent diſturbance from Scotland, while the Engliſh arms ſhould be employed on the continent, Henry diſpatched an ambaſſador to James IV. his brother-in-law, with inſtructions to accommodate all differences between the two kingdoms. Some complaints had already been made on both ſides; but matters might eaſily have been ſettled, had it not been for Henry's projected invaſion of France, which rouſed the jealouſy of the Scottiſh nation. The ancient league which ſubſiſted between France and Scotland, was eſteemed the moſt ſacred bond of connection, and univerſally believed by the Scots, eſſential to the preſervation of their independency againſt a people ſo much ſuperior as the Engliſh. Henry's ambaſſador therefore eaſily foreſaw, though James ſtill made profeſſions of maintaining a neutrality, that a war with Scotland would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his maſter, who ſent the earl of Surry to put the borders in a poſture of defence, and to reſiſt the expected inroad of the enemy [9]. A.D. 1513.

MEANWHILE the king of England, all on fire for military fame, invaded France by the way of Calais. But of all the allies, on whoſe aſſiſtance he relied, the Swiſs alone fully performed their engagements. Maximilian, among others, failed to perform his; although he had received, in advance, a ſubſidy of an hundred and twenty thouſand crowns. That he might make ſome atonement, however, for his breach of faith, he appeared in perſon in the Low Countries, and joined the Engliſh army with a ſmall body of German and Flemiſh troops, that were uſeful in giving an

9. Buchanan. Drummond. Herbert.

PART I. A. D. 1513.

example of diſcipline to Henry's new levied forces. The emperor carried his condeſcenſion yet farther. He did not pretend, with a handful of men, to act as an auxiliary, but enliſted himſelf in the ſervice of the Engliſh monarch; wore the croſs of St. George, and received a hundred ducats a day for the uſe of his table [10].

An emperor of Germany, ſerving under a king of England, and living by his bounty, was ſurely a ſpectacle truly extraordinary; but Henry treated him with the higheſt reſpect, and he really directed all the operations of the war. The firſt enterprize which they undertook was the ſiege of Terouane, a town ſituated on the borders of Picardy. During the attack of this place was fought the famous battle of Guinegate, where the cavalry of France fled at the firſt onſet, and in which the duke of Longueville, Buſſi d'Amboiſe, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of diſtinction, were made priſoners. This action, or rather rout, is commonly called the *Battle of Spurs*; becauſe the French, on that occaſion, made more uſe of their ſpurs than their military weapons [11].

After ſo conſiderable an advantage, Henry, who was at the head of a complete army of fifty thouſand men, might have made incurſions to the gates of Paris, and ſpread confuſion and deſolation every where. It therefore gave Lewis great joy, when he heard, that the king of England, inſtead of puſhing his victory, had returned to the ſiege of Terouane. That place, however, was ſoon obliged to capitulate, and the an-

10. Polydore Virg. 11. *Hiſt. de Chev. Bayard. Mem. de Bellai.*

xietics

LETTER LIV.

A.D. 1513.

xieties of the French were again renewed with regard to the motions of the Engliſh. The Swiſs at the ſame time had entered Burgundy with a formidable army; and the Catholic king, though he had made a truce with Lewis, ſeemed diſpoſed to ſeize every advantage which fortune ſhould preſent to him. Never was the French monarchy in greater danger, or leſs in a condition to defend itſelf againſt thoſe powerful armies which aſſailed or threatened it on every ſide.

Lewis, though fruitful in expedients, was now at a loſs what courſe to follow, or where to place his ſafety: his troops were diſmayed, his people intimidated, and he had no ally to aſſiſt him. But France was ſaved by the blunders of her enemies. The Swiſs allowed themſelves to be wheedled into a negociation by Tremouille, governor of Burgundy, without enquiring whether he had any powers to treat; and that nobleman, who knew he ſhould be diſavowed by his maſter, ſtipulated whatever they were pleaſed to demand, happy to get rid of ſuch dangerous invaders at the expence of a little money and many empty promiſes. Henry diſcovered no leſs ignorance in the conduct of war, than the Swiſs in negociation. By the intereſted counſel of Maximilian, he laid ſiege to Tournay, which then belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a paſſage into the heart of the Netherlands. Soon after the reduction of this place, which nowiſe advanced the conqueſts of Henry, he was informed of the retreat of the Swiſs; and as the ſeaſon was now far advanced, he thought proper to return to England, and carried with him the greater part of his army [12]. Such, my dear Philip, was the

12. *Mem. de Fleuranges*, Guicciardini.

iſſue

PART I. A.D. 1513. iſſue of a campaign much boaſted of by the Engliſh monarch; but which, all circumſtances conſidered, was unprofitable, if not inglorious.

THE ſucceſs which, during this ſeaſon, attended the Engliſh arms in North Britain was more deciſive. James IV. had aſſembled the whole force of his dominions, and croſſed the Tweed at the head of a brave, though tumultuous army of fifty thouſand men. But inſtead of making uſe of the opportunity, which the abſence of Henry afforded him, to puſh his conqueſts, he waſted his time in the arms of a fair captive. His troops became diſſatisfied, and began to be pinched with hunger; and as the authority of the prince was yet feeble among the Scots, and military diſcipline extremely lax, many of them ſtole from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile the earl of Surrey, having collected a body of twenty-ſix thouſand men, approached the enemy, who lay on ſome high ground near the hills of Cheviot. He drew them from their ſtation, by feigning to enter their country; and an obſtinate battle was fought in the Sept. 9. field of Flouden, where the king of Scotland and the flower of his nobility were ſlain [13].—Henry, on this occaſion, diſcovered a mind truly great and generous. Though an inviting opportunity was now offered him of extending his dominion over the whole iſland, he took compaſſion on the helpleſs condition of his ſiſter A.D. 1514. Margaret, and her infant ſon; and readily granted peace to Scotland, as ſoon as it was applied for.

SOON after this peace, which put Henry in a condition to proſecute his views on the continent to more

13. Buchanan. Drummond. Herbert.

advan-

advantage, as he had nothing to fear from his northern neighbours, a general pacification took place between the contending powers. Lewis renounced the council of Piſa, now transferred to Lyons, and Leo X. granted him abſolution. Ferdinand the Catholic renewed the truce with France; and he and Maximilian entered into a treaty with Lewis for the marriage of his ſecond daughter, Renée, to Charles, prince of Spain, their common grandſon. Lewis himſelf eſpouſed the princeſs Mary of England, and agreed to pay Henry a million of crowns, the arrears due by the treaty of Eſtaples. Theſe two monarchs alſo entered into an alliance for their mutual defence [14]. LETTER LIV. A.D. 1514.

Lewis XII. thus reſcued from his numerous difficulties, had the happineſs of beholding once more his affairs in good order, and all Europe in tranquillity. But he enjoyed this happineſs only a ſhort while. Enchanted with the beauty and elegant accompliſhments of his young queen, he forgot in her arms his advanced age, and was ſeduced into ſuch a round of gaiety and pleaſure as proved very unſuitable to his declining health [15]. He died about three months after the marriage, in his fifty-fourth year, and when he was meditating anew the conqueſt of Milan—which was left to immortaliſe the name, and ſwell the misfortunes of his ſucceſſor. A.D. 1515.

14 Du Tillet.

15. Brantome, *Eloge de Louis XII.* "The good king," ſays another writer, "for the ſake of his wife, totally altered his manner of living. "Whereas *before* he uſed to *dine* at *eight o'clock* in the *morning*, he *now* did "not *dine* till *noon*. He had alſo been *accuſtomed* to *go* to *bed* at *ſix* in the "*evening*, and he *now* frequently *ſat up* till *midnight*." (*Hiſt. de Chev. Bayard.*) Nothing can mark more ſtrongly than this paſſage the difference between the mode of living in that and the preſent age!

THERE

PART I. A. D. 1515.

THERE is no perfection in human beings, my dear Philip, and conſequently not in kings, whatever their flatterers may tell them; but few men, either princes or ſubjects, ſeem to have poſſeſſed more ſocial and benevolent virtues than fell to the ſhare of Lewis XII. He was univerſally beloved by his people: the populace and the nobility equally adored him, and unanimouſly called him their Father; a title with which he was particularly pleaſed, and which he made it the ſtudy of his life to deſerve. He began his reign with aboliſhing many taxes; and at the time of his death, notwithſtanding his wars and his diſaſters, he had diminiſhed the public burdens above one half. His very misfortunes, or, in a political ſenſe, his errors, endeared him to his ſubjects; for it was well known, that he might have maintained his conqueſts in Italy, if he would have levied larger ſums upon his people. But his heart would not permit him to diſtreſs them: he eſteemed any loſs light, compared with that of their affections. His moderation was no leſs remarkable than his humanity. When told that ſome of his courtiers ſmiled at his œconomy, which they conſidered as too rigid, and that certain authors had taken the liberty to ridicule it in their writings, he was by no means diſpleaſed. "I would rather," replied he magnanimouſly, "that my people ſhould laugh at "my parſimony, than weep at their own op-"preſſions[16]."

16. *Hiſt. de Louis XII.* pub. par. Theod. Godefroy.

LETTER

LETTER LV.

The general View of EUROPE *continued, from the Acceſſion of* FRANCIS I. *in* 1515, *to the Death of the Emperor* MAXIMILIAN, *in* 1519; *including the Riſe of the* REFORMATION *in* GERMANY.

LETTER LV.

A. D. 1515.

LEWIS XII. was ſucceeded on the throne of France by his ſon-in-law Francis, count of Angouleme, firſt prince of the blood, whoſe military genius, it was foreſeen, would ſoon diſturb the peace of Europe. Young, brave, ambitious, and enterpriſing, he immediately turned his eyes towards Italy, as the ſcene of glory and of conqueſt. His firſt object was the recovery of Milan. But before he ſet out on that expedition, he renewed the treaty which his predeceſſor had concluded with England; and having nothing to fear from Spain, where Ferdinand was on the verge of the grave, he marched his army towards the Alps, under pretence of defending his kingdom againſt the incurſions of the Swiſs. Informed of his hoſtile intentions, that warlike people had taken up arms, at the inſtigation of the pope, in order to protect Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan, whom they had reſtored to his dominions, and thought themſelves bound in honour to ſupport.

THESE hardy mountaineers took poſſeſſion of all thoſe paſſes in the Alps, through which they thought the French muſt enter Italy; and when informed that Francis had made his way into Piedmont, by a ſecret route, they deſcended undiſmayed into the plain, and gallantly oppoſed themſelves on foot to the heavy-armed cavalry of France. The two armies met

PART I. A. D. 1515. Sept. 13.

met at Marignan, near Milan; where was fought one of the moſt furious and obſtinate battles mentioned in the hiſtory of modern times. The action began towards evening: night parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiſs renewed the attack with unabated ardour, and it required all the heroic valour of Francis to inſpire his troops with courage ſufficient to reſiſt the ſhock. The Swiſs, though broken at laſt by the cavalry, and galled by the cannon, long kept their ground; and did not retire till they had loſt upwards of twelve thouſand of their beſt troops, about one half of their whole number. The loſs of the French was very conſiderable: twenty thouſand men fell on both ſides; and the old mareſchal Trivulzio, who had been preſent at eighteen pitched battles, uſed to declare, that in compariſon of the battle of Marignan, every other engagement he had ſeen was but *the play of children*, but that this was *a combat of heroes* [1].

THE ſurrender of the city of Milan, and the conqueſt of the whole duchy, were the conſequences of this victory. Maximilian Sforza reſigned his claim, in conſideration of a penſion; and Francis having concluded a treaty with the pope, and with the Swiſs, returned into France leaving to Charles duke of Bourbon the government of his Italian dominions [2].

IN the mean time the ſucceſs and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealouſy in the breaſt of the old emperor Maximilian: nor was the rapid progreſs of Francis, though in ſo diſtant a country, regarded with indifference even by the king of England. Henry diſpatched a miniſter to the court of Vienna, with ſecret orders to propoſe certain pay-

1. *Mem. de Fleuranges.* 2. Guicciardini. Mezeray.

ments

ments to the emperor; and Maximilian, who was ever ready to embrace any overture to excite freſh troubles, and always neceſſitous, immediately invaded Italy with a conſiderable army. But that prince being repulſed before Milan, by the French garriſon, and hearing that twelve thouſand Swiſs were advancing to its relief, retired haſtily into Germany; made peace with France and with Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a ſum of money, and thus excluded himſelf, in ſome meaſure, from all future acceſs into Italy [3]. LETTER LV. A.D. 1515. A.D. 1516.

THIS peace, which reſtored univerſal tranquillity to Europe, was preceded by the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the ſucceſſion of his grandſon Charles to his extenſive dominions; an event which had long been looked for, and from which the moſt important conſequences were expected. Charles, who had hitherto reſided in the Low Countries, which he inherited as heir of the houſe of Burgundy, was now near the full age of ſixteen, and poſſeſſed a recollection and ſedateneſs much above his years; but his genius had yet given no indications of that ſuperiority, which its maturer ſtate diſplayed. That capacious and deciſive judgment, which afterwards directed ſo ably the affairs of a vaſt empire, was left to be diſcovered by thoſe great events to which it gave birth, and thoſe occaſions which made it neceſſary. At preſent there was little call for it.

CARDINAL Ximenes, archbiſhop of Toledo, a perſon of equal virtue and ſagacity, had prudently been appointed, by the will of Ferdinand, ſole regent

3. Ibid.

of

PART I. A.D. 1516.

of Caſtile, till the arrival of his grandſon. This man, whoſe character is no leſs ſingular than illuſtrious, who united the abilities of a great ſtateſman with the abject devotion of a ſuperſtitious monk, and the magnificence of a prime miniſter with the auſterity of a mendicant, maintained order and tranquillity in Spain, notwithſtanding the diſcontents of a turbulent and high-ſpirited nobility. When they diſputed his right to the regency, he coolly ſhewed them the teſtament of Ferdinand, and the ratification of that deed by Charles; but theſe not ſatisfying them, and argument proving ineffectual, he led them inſenſibly towards a balcony, whence they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, and a formidable train of artillery. "Behold," ſaid the cardinal, raiſing his voice, and extending his arm, "the "powers which I have received from his Catholic "Majeſty: by theſe I govern Caſtile! and will go-"vern it, till the king, your maſter and mine, ſhall "come to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom." A declaration ſo bold and determined ſilenced all oppoſition, and Ximenes maintained his authority till the arrival of Charles [4].

A.D. 1517.

THE fate of this miniſter merits our attention, though not immediately connected with the line of general hiſtory. The young king was received with univerſal acclamations of joy; but Ximenes found little cauſe to rejoice. He was ſeized with a violent diſorder, ſuppoſed to be the effect of poiſon; and when he recovered, Charles, prejudiced againſt him by the Spaniſh grandees and his Flemiſh courtiers, ſlighted his advice, and allowed him every day to

4 Flechier, *Vie de Ximen.*

ſink into neglect. The cardinal did not bear this treatment with his uſual firmneſs of ſpirit. He expected a more grateful return from a prince, to whom he delivered a kingdom far more flouriſhing than it had been in any former age, and authority more extenſive and better eſtabliſhed than the moſt illuſtrious of his anceſtors had ever poſſeſſed. Conſcious of his own integrity and merit, he could not therefore refrain from giving vent, at times, to indignation and complaint. He lamented the fate of his country, and foretold the calamities to which it would be expoſed from the inſolence, the rapaciouſneſs, and the ignorance of ſtrangers. Theſe paſſions agitated the ſoul of Ximenes, when he received a letter from the king, genteely diſmiſſing him from his councils, under pretence of eaſing his age of that burden, which he had ſo long and ſo ably ſuſtained. This letter proved fatal to the miniſter. His haughty mind could not endure diſgrace, nor his generous heart the ſtings of ingratitude: he expired a few hours after reading it [5]. A. D. 1517.

WHILE Charles was taking poſſeſſion of the throne of Spain, in conſequence of the death of one grandfather, another was endeavouring to obtain for him the imperial crown. With this view Maximilian aſſembled a diet at Augſburg, where he ſtrove to gain the favour of the electors by many acts of beneficence, in order to engage them to chuſe that young prince as his ſucceſſor. But Maximilian himſelf having never been crowned by the pope, a ceremony deemed eſſential in that age, as well as in the preceding, he was conſidered only as king of the Romans, A. D. 1518.

5 Marſallier, *Vie de Ximen.* Baudier, *Hiſt. de Ximen.*

PART I. A.D. 1518.

or emperor *elect*; and no example occurring in hiſtory of any perſon being choſen ſucceſſor to a king of the Romans, the Germans, ever tenacious of their forms, obſtinately refuſed to confer upon Charles a dignity for which their conſtitution knew no name[6].

But the diet of Augſburg had other buſineſs. Thither was ſummoned Martin Luther, for "propagating new and dangerous opinions." Theſe opinions were no other, my dear Philip, than the firſt principles of the Reformation; which ſoon diffuſed themſelves through Germany, which were afterwards embraced by ſo many nations, and which ſeparated one half of Europe from the Romiſh church. Of the origin of this great ſchiſm ſome account will be neceſſary: for although I would by no means engage you in theological diſputes, you ought to know the grounds of a controverſy, which produced ſo remarkable revolution in the religious world, in the creeds and ceremonies of Chriſtians, that you may be the better enabled to judge of its effects upon ſociety; upon induſtry, literature, policy, and morals. In that light only I mean to conſider it: the road to heaven I leave to heavenly directors.

In the courſe of theſe Letters I have had occaſion to obſerve the riſe of the pope's ſpiritual power, as well as of his temporal dominion; to trace the progreſs, and to remark the abuſes of each. A repetition here would therefore be unneceſſary. The ſpiritual deſpotiſm of Gregory VII. the temporal tyranny of Alexander VI. and the bloody ambition of Julius II. make too ſtrong an impreſſion on the mind

6 Barre, tom. vi.

to

to be ſoon effaced. After that enormous privilege which the Roman pontiffs aſſumed of diſpoſing of crowns, and of releaſing nations from their oath of allegiance, the moſt pernicious to ſociety was that of abſolving individuals from the ties of moral duty. This dangerous power, or one equivalent to it, the pope claimed as the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and the keeper of the ſpiritual treaſury of the church, ſuppoſed to contain the ſuper-abounding good works of the ſaints, together with the infinite merits of Jeſus Chriſt. Out of this inexhauſtible ſtorehouſe of ſuperabundant merit, his Holineſs might retail, at pleaſure, particular portions to thoſe who were deficient. He aſſumed, in ſhort, and directly exerciſed, the right of pardoning ſins; which was, in other words, granting a permiſſion to commit them; for if it is known, as had long been the caſe in the Romiſh church, at what price the puniſhment of any crime may be bought off, the encouragement to vice is the ſame as if a diſpenſation had been granted before hand. And even that was frequently indulged. LETTER LV. A.D. 1318.

THE influence of ſuch indulgences upon morals, may eaſily be imagined; eſpecially in ages when ſuperſtition had ſilenced the voice of conſcience, and reaſon was bewildered in Gothic darkneſs; when the church had every where provided ſanctuaries, which not only ſcreened from the arm of the civil magiſtrate perſons guilty of the greateſt enormities, but often enabled them to live in affluence. Yet that great hiſtorian, and profound philoſopher, Mr. Hume, has endeavoured to prove, that proteſtant writers are miſtaken in ſuppoſing, that a diſſolution of morals ſhould enſue, "becauſe a man could purchaſe for a ſhilling, "an *indulgence* for the moſt enormous and unheard of

PART I. A.D. 1518.

"crimes[7]!" But you, I hope, will think otherwiſe, when you have duly weighed the foregoing conſiderations.

MR. HUME ſeems here to have forgot, that all men are not philoſophers: or, blinded by the love of paradox, to have loſt ſight of common ſenſe. He ſeems even to have loſt ſight of his argument; for he adds, that "after theſe indulgences, there ſtill remained "hell-fire, the civil magiſtrate, and the remorſes of "conſcience," to awe mankind to their duty. Now the firſt of theſe aſſertions is literally falſe; for the very words of an indulgence bore, that it reſtored the perſon to whom it was granted, "to that inno-"cence and purity which he poſſeſſed at baptiſm:" and, according to the doctrine of the Romiſh church, the infant is then fit for heaven. But the indulgence did not ſtop here: it concluded thus; "ſo than when "you die, the gates of puniſhment ſhall be ſhut, "and the gates of the paradiſe of delight ſhall be "opened[8]." The terror of the civil magiſtrate, as I have already ſhewn, could be very ſmall, when the church afforded ſhelter to every criminal that ſought her ſanctuaries, and took into her boſom the whole body of the clergy. Conſcience, indeed, ſo often repreſented by this doubting ſage as an erring guide, as a principle ſuperinduced and local, conſcience could not be baniſhed the human breaſt; but its voice, if not entirely ſilenced by ſuperſtition, was too feeble to be liſtened to by the ſelf-deluding and headſtrong paſſions of man, when flattered by the hope, or encouraged by the aſſurance of a papal indulgence.

7 *Hiſt. of England*, vol. iv. note A. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book ii.

8. Seckend. *Comment.* lib. i.

THESE

LETTER LV.

A.D. 1516.

THESE indulgences, or plenary pardons, of which I have been led inſenſibly to ſpeak, and which not only ſerved as a remiſſion of ſins to the living, but as a releaſe to the dead from the pains of purgatory, were firſt invented by Urban II. as a recompence for thoſe who engaged in the wild expeditions to the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to ſuch as contributed money for that or any other pious purpoſe: and the ſums ſo raiſed were frequently diverted to other uſes. They were employed to ſwell the ſtate, to furniſh the luxuries, or accompliſh the ambitious enterprizes of the popes. John XXII. reduced this ſpiritual traffic into a ſyſtem; and Leo X. that great patron of arts and of letters, having exhauſted the papal treaſury in rewards to men of genius, in magnificent works, and expenſive pleaſures, thought that he might attempt, without danger, thoſe pious frauds ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed by the moſt ignorant of his predeceſſors: Leo publiſhed a general ſale of *Indulgences*.

IF any thing could apologize for a religious cheat that tends to the ſubverſion of morals, Leo's apology was ready. He was engaged in building that ſuperb temple, St. Peter's cathedral, founded by his predeceſſor, and the Turks were preparing to enter Germany. He had no occaſion to forge pretences for this extenſion of papal authority. But Leo, though a polite ſcholar, and a fine gentleman, was but a pitiful pope. Liberal minded himſelf, and ſurrounded by liberal minded men, he did not foreſee, that the lamp of knowledge, which he held up to mankind, would light them to the abode of Superſtition; would ſhew them her errors, her impoſtures, her uſurpations, and their own ſlaviſh condition. He did not reflect, that impo-

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ſitions employed with ſucceſs in one age, may prove dangerous experiments in another. But he had ſoon occaſion to remember it.

THE abuſe of the ſale of indulgences in Germany, where they were publicly retailed in alehouſes, and where the produce of particular diſtricts was farmed out, in the manner of a toll or cuſtom, awakened the indignation of Martin Luther, an Auguſtine friar, and profeſſor of theology in the univerſity of Wittemberg. Luther was alſo incenſed, it is ſaid, that the privilege of vending this ſpiritual merchandiſe had been taken from his order, and given to the Dominicans. But, be that as it may, he wrote and he preached againſt indulgences. His writings were read with avidity, and his diſcourſes were liſtened to with admiration. He appealed to reaſon and ſcripture, for the truth of his arguments, not to the deciſions of councils, or of popes. A corner of the veil was now happily lifted. The people, ever fond of judging for themſelves (and in matters which concern themſelves only, they have an undoubted right,) flattered by this appeal, began to call in queſtion that authority which they had formerly reverenced, which they had blindly adored; and Luther, emboldened by ſucceſs, extended his views, and ventured to declaim againſt other abuſes. From abuſes he proceeded to uſurpations; from uſurpations to errors; and from one error to another, till the whole fabric of the Romiſh church began to totter.

LEO, in the mean time, alarmed at the progreſs of this daring innovator, had ſummoned him to anſwer for his doctrines at Rome. But that citation was remitted at the interceſſion of Frederic, ſurnamed the Wiſe,

Wiſe, elector of Saxony, who had hitherto protected Luther; and his cauſe was ordered to be tried in Germany, by cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for ſcholaſtic learning, and the pope's legate at the imperial court. For this end, among others, Cajetan attended the diet at Augſburg; and thither Luther repaired without heſitation; after having obtained the emperor's ſafe-conduct, though he had good reaſon to decline a judge choſen from among his avowed adverſaries. The cardinal received him with decent reſpect, and endeavoured, at firſt, to gain him by gentle treatment; but finding him firm in his principles, and thinking it beneath the dignity of his ſtation to enter into any formal diſpute, he required him, by virtue of the apoſtolic powers with which he was veſted, to retract his errors, (without ſhewing that they were ſuch) and to abſtain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, who had flattered himſelf with a hearing, and hoped to diſtinguiſh himſelf in a diſpute with a prelate of ſuch eminent abilities, was much mortified at this arbitrary mode of proceeding. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not forſake him: he boldly replied, that he could not, with a ſafe conſcience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; but offered to ſubmit the whole controverſy to the judgment of the learned, naming certain univerſities. This offer was rejected by Cajetan, who ſtill inſiſted on a ſimple recantation; and Luther, by the advice of his friends, after appealing to a general council, ſecretly withdrew from Augſburg, and returned to his own country [9]. The progreſs of this extraordi-

9 Sleid. *Hiſt. Reform.* Robertſon, ubi ſup.

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THE diet of Augſburgh was ſoon followed by the
A.D. 1519 death of the emperor Maximilian; an event in itſelf of little moment, as that prince had, for ſome years, ceaſed to be of any conſequence. But as it left vacant the firſt ſtation among Chriſtian princes, of which two great monarchs were equally ambitious, it became memorable by its effects. It gave riſe to a competition, and awakened a jealouſy, which threw all Europe into agitation; it broke that profound peace which then reigned in Chriſtendom, and kindled wars more general and laſting than any which modern times had beheld.—But before we enter on that intereſting æra, I muſt carry forward the Progreſs of Society; notice the improvements in arts and in letters, and exhibit ſome account of thoſe great naval diſcoveries, which produced ſo important a revolution in the commercial world, and gave to Europe a new continent, while religion and ambition were depopulating the old. Meanwhile it will be proper to remark, That, during the reign of Maximilian, Germany was divided into Circles, in each of which a provincial and particular juriſdiction was eſtabliſhed, to ſupply the place of a public and common tribunal. In this reign alſo was inſtituted the Imperial Chamber, compoſed of judges nominated partly by the emperor, partly by the ſeveral ſtates, and veſted with authority to decide finally concerning all differences among the members of the Germanic body. The Aulick Council too, which takes cognizance of all feudal cauſes, and ſuch as belong to the emperor's immediate juriſdiction, received under this prince a new

form [10]. By these regulations, order was given to that confused government, and some degree of vigour restored to the imperial authority. LETTER LV. A.D. 1519.

LETTER LVI.

The Progress of SOCIETY *in* EUROPE, *from the Beginning of the Fourteenth, to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century.*

WE have already, my dear Philip, traced the Progress of Society to the beginning of the fourteenth century. We have seen corporation-charters granted; civil communities formed; and the great body of the people, released from that servitude under which they had so long groaned, applying themselves to trade and industry. We have also seen universities generally established; the study of the Roman law introducing a more perfect system of jurisprudence; an acquaintance with the learned languages awakening an ambition of literary merit; manners taking a more liberal turn, and commerce beginning to circulate the conveniencies of life. But Society had still many advances to make, before it arrived at that state of refinement, in which we now behold it, or to which it had attained under the pontificate of Leo X. LETTER LVI.

THESE advances it is now our business to trace. By the way, however, I must remind you, That, in the course of the general narrative, I have taken occasion

10. Dutt. *De Pace Publica Imperii.*

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MANKIND are no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the conveniencies of life, than they begin to aſpire after its elegancies. About the beginning of the fourteenth century, ſuch a taſte became general in Europe. The Italian cities, which had early acquired liberty, and obtained municipal charters, carried on, at that time, a flouriſhing trade with India, through the ports of the Red Sea. They introduced into their own country manufactures of various kinds, and carried them on with great ingenuity and vigour. In the manufacture of ſilk in particular, they made ſo rapid a progreſs, that, about the middle of the fourteenth century, a thouſand citizens of Genoa appeared in one proceſſion, clad in ſilk robes. They attempted new arts; among which may be numbered, the art of taking impreſſions from engravings on plates of copper, the manufacture of cryſtal glaſs for mirrors, of paper made of linen rags, and of earthen ware in imi-

tation of procelain. And they imported from warmer climates the art of raiſing ſeveral natural productions, formerly unknown in Europe, which now furniſh the materials of a lucrative and extended commerce; particularly the culture of ſilk, and the plantation of the ſugar-cane. Originally the produce of Aſia, and eſteemed peculiar to the Eaſt, the ſugar-cane was tranſplanted from the Greek iſlands into Sicily, from Sicily into Italy, from Italy into Spain, and from Spain and Portugal into the newly diſcovered iſlands in the Weſtern Ocean [1].

THE diſcovery of thoſe iſlands, and alſo of the American continent, was the effect of another modern invention, namely the Mariner's Compaſs; which, by rendering navigation at once more ſecure and more adventurous, facilitated the intercourſe between remote nations, and may be ſaid to have brought them nearer to each other.

BUT the progreſs of navigation, and the diſcoveries to which it gave birth, demand a particular Letter. Yet here I muſt obſerve, that commerce, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was by no means confined to the Italian ſtates. Flanders had long been as famous for the manufacture of linen and woollen cloths, as Italy was for that of ſilk. All the wool of England, before the reign of Edward III. except a ſmall quantity wrought into coarſe cloths for home conſumption, was ſold to the Flemings or Lombards, but chiefly to the former, and manufactured by them; and it was not till the middle of the fifteenth century (ſo late were our anceſtors of availing themſelves of

1 Guiciardini, *Deſcrit. Paeſi Baſſe.*

their

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their natural commercial advantages!) that the Engliſh were capable of fabricating cloth for foreign markets. Bruges was at once the ſtaple for Engliſh wool, for the woollen and linen manufactures of the Netherlands, for the naval ſtores and other bulky commodities of the North, and for the precious commodities of the Eaſt, as well as domeſtic productions, carried thither by the Italian ſtates [2]. It was the greateſt emporium in Europe.

NOTHING ſo much advances ſociety as an intercourſe with ſtrangers. In proportion as commerce made its way into the different countries of Europe, they ſucceſſively turned their attention to thoſe objects, and adopted thoſe manners, which occupy and diſtinguiſh poliſhed nations. Accordingly we find the Italians and Flemings taking the lead in the liberal as well as in the commercial arts, and exhibiting the firſt examples of cultivated life.

PAINTING and architecture were revived in Italy toward the end of the thirteenth century. They continued to make rapid progreſs under different maſters, and were both carried to perfection during the period under review. Tapeſtry, then in high eſtimation, had long been manufactured with the greateſt ingenuity in the Low Countries; and the Flemings, in their turn, became painters and architects, before the reſt of Europe were furniſhed with the neceſſary arts. Ghent and Bruges, Venice and Genoa, were ſplendid cities, adorned with ſtately buildings, while the inhabitants of London and Paris lived in wretched cottages, without ſo much as a chimney to carry up the ſmoke. The fire was made on the ground in the

2 Id. ibid. Andeſſon, *Hiſt. Com.* vol. i.

middle

middle of the apartment, and all the family ſat round it, like the Laplanders in their huts[3]. This rude method of building and living continued to be common in conſiderable towns, both in France and England, as late as the beginning of the ſixteenth century.

LEARNING and politeneſs are ſuppoſed to keep pace with each other. But this obſervation ſeems to have been made without due attention, to have been formed into a maxim by ſome dogmatiſt, and implicitly adopted by ſucceeding writers; for if applied to the abſtract ſciences, it ſeems equally void of foundation, whether we conſider the fact itſelf, the nature of thoſe ſciences, or the manners of the literati in different ages. Politeneſs ariſes from the habits of ſocial life, and the intercourſe of men and of nations; it is therefore more likely to accompany commerce than learning. But it muſt be allowed, at the ſame time, that manners receive their laſt poliſh from works of imagination and ſentiment; which ſoften the mind by pictures of natural and moral beauty, and diſpoſe it to tenderneſs and ſocial affection.

THESE reflections, my dear Philip, naturally lead us to the moſt curious and intereſting inquiries; "the revival of letters, and the progreſs of genius and manners". The method in which you now ſtudy hiſtory, does not permit me to treat thoſe ſubjects ſo fully as their importance may ſeem to require; yet ſhall I take care to omit nothing eſſential for a gentleman to know, while I ſtudiouſly avoid every thing that belongs to the mere antiquary. An attempt to trace, with critical minuteneſs, through dark and ignorant

3. Eraſmus. Hollingſhed.

ages

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ages, the obſcure ſources of refinement, is like travelling over barren mountains and uninhabited deſarts, in ſearch of the remote fountain of the Nile, inſtead of contemplating the accumulated majeſty of that river; when, greatly bountiful, its myſterious waters ſhed health and plenty over an extenſive kingdom, and furniſh the means of an enriching commerce, which feeds and employs millions, and calls forth every power of the mind, and cheriſhes every virtue of the heart.

THE firſt permanent ſtep towards the revival of letters in Europe, was the erection of ſchools under lay preceptors. Alfred and Charlemagne, thoſe early luminaries of the modern world, had ſhed a temporary luſtre over the ages in which they lived. They had encouraged learning both by their example and patronage, and ſome gleams of genius began to break forth; but the promiſing dawn did not arrive at perfect day. The ſchools erected by theſe great monarchs were confined ſolely to the churches and monaſteries, and monks were almoſt the only inſtructors of youth. The contracted ideas of ſuch men, partly ariſing from their mode of life, partly from their religious opinions, made them utterly unfit for the communication of liberal knowledge. Science, in their hands, degenerated into a barbarous jargon, and genius again ſunk in the gloom of ſuperſtition. A long night of ignorance ſucceeded. Learning was conſidered as dangerous to true piety, and darkneſs was neceſſary to hide the uſurpations of the clergy, who were then exalting themſelves on the ruins of the civil power. The ancient poets and orators were repreſented as ſeducers to the path of deſtruction. Virgil and Horace were the pimps of hell, Ovid a lecherous

cherous fiend, and Cicero a vain declaimer, impiouſly elated with the talent of heatheniſh reaſoning. Ariſtotle's logic alone was recommended, becauſe it was found capable of involving the ſimpleſt arguments, and perplexing the plaineſt truths. It became the univerſal ſcience: and Europe, for almoſt three centuries, produced no compoſition that can afford pleaſure to a claſſical reader. Incredible legends, unedifying homilies, and trite expoſitions of ſcripture, were the only labours of the learned during that dark period. But the gloom at laſt began to diſappear, and the ſceptre of Knowledge was wreſted from the hand of Superſtition. Several enlightened perſons among the laity, who had ſtudied under the Arabs in Spain, undertook the education of youth about the beginning of the eleventh century, in the chief cities of Italy; and afterwards in thoſe of France, England, and Germany. Inſtruction was communicated in a more rational manner: more numerous and more uſeful branches of ſcience were taught; a taſte for ancient literature was revived; and ſome Latin poems were written, before the cloſe of the twelfth century, not unworthy of the latter times of the Roman empire [4].

THE human ſoul during this period, ſeems to have rouſed itſelf, as from a lethargy. The ſame enthuſiaſm, which prompted one ſet of men to ſignalize their valour in the Holy Land, inſpired another with the ardour of tranſmitting to poſterity the gallant actions of the former, and of animating the zeal of thoſe pious warriors, by the fabulous adventures of former Chriſtian heroes. Theſe performances were

4. Warton, *Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry*, vol. i.

compoſed

PART I.

compoſed in verſe; and ſeveral of them with much elegance, and no ſmall degree of imagination. But many bars were yet in the way of literary refinement. The taſte of the age was too rude to reliſh the beauties of claſſical compoſition: the Latin language, in which all ſcience was conveyed, was but imperfectly known to the bulk of readers; and the ſcarcity of parchment, together with the expence of tranſcribing, rendered books ſo extremely dear, as to be only within the reach of a few. Learning, however, continued to advance, in ſpite of every obſtruction; and the invention of paper in the fourteenth century, and of printing about the middle of the fifteenth, made knowledge ſo general within a century after, that Italy began to compare, in arts and in letters, her modern with her ancient ſtate, and to contraſt the age of Leo X. with that of the ſecond Cæſar.

In the mean time, a ſingular revolution had taken place in the empire of Genius, introduced by one no leſs ſingular in the ſyſtem of Manners. Women among the ancient Greeks and Romans, ſeem to have been conſidered merely as objects of ſenſuality, or of domeſtic conveniency. They were devoted to a ſtate of ſecluſion and obſcurity, had few attentions offered them, and were permitted to take as little ſhare in the converſation, as in the general commerce of life. But the northern nations, who paid a kind of devotion to the ſofter ſex, even in their native foreſts, had no ſooner ſettled themſelves in the provinces of the Roman empire, than the female character began to aſſume new conſequence. Thoſe fierce barbarians, who ſeemed to thirſt only for blood, who involved in one undiſtinguiſhed ruin the monuments of ancient grandeur and ancient ingenuity, and who devoted to

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the flames the knowledge of ages, always forbore to offer any violence to the women. They brought along with them the reſpectful gallantry of the North, which had power to reſtrain even their ſavage ferocity; and they introduced into the Weſt of Europe, a generoſity of ſentiment, and a complaiſance toward the ladies, to which the moſt poliſhed nations of antiquity were ſtrangers.

THESE ſentiments of generous gallantry were foſtered by the inſtitution of Chivalry, which lifted woman yet higher in the ſcale of life. Inſtead of being nobody in ſociety, ſhe became its *primum mobile*. Every knight devoting himſelf to danger, declared himſelf the humble ſervant of ſome lady, and that lady was generally the object of his love. Her honour was ſuppoſed to be intimately connected with his, and her ſmile was the reward of his valour: for her he attacked, for her he defended, and for her he ſhed his blood. Courage, animated by ſo powerful a motive, loſt ſight of every thing but enterprize. Incredible toils were chearfully endured; incredible actions were performed; and the boldeſt inventions of fiction were more than realized. The effect was reciprocal. Women, proud of their influence, became worthy of the heroiſm they had inſpired: they were not to be approached but by the high-minded and the brave; and men, in thoſe gallant times, could only hope to be admitted to the boſom of the chaſte fair, after having proved their fidelity and affection by years of perſeverance and of peril.

A SIMILAR change took place in the operations of war. The perfect hero of antiquity was ſuperior to fear, but he made uſe of every artifice to annoy his enemy: impelled by animoſity and hoſtile paſſion,

PART I. like the ſavage in the American woods, he was only anxious of attaining his end, without regarding whether fraud or force were the means. But the true Knight, or modern hero of the middle ages, who ſeems, in all his rencounters, to have had his eye on the judicial combat, or Judgment of God, had an equal contempt for ſtratagem and danger. He diſdained to take advantage of his enemy: he deſired only to ſee him, and to combat him upon equal terms, truſting that Heaven would interpoſe in behalf of the juſt; and as he profeſſed only to vindicate the cauſe of religion, of injured beauty, or oppreſſed innocence, he was farther confirmed in this enthuſiaſtic opinion, by his own heated imagination. Strongly perſuaded that the deciſion muſt be in his favour, he fought as if under the influence of divine inſpiration, rather than of military ardour [5]. Thus the ſyſtem of chivalry, by a ſingular combination of manners, blended the heroic and ſanctified characters, united devotion and valour, zeal and gallantry, and reconciled the love of God and of the ladies.

FROM theſe new manners aroſe a new ſpecies of compoſition; namely the Romance, or modern heroic fable. It was originally written in verſe: and by giving a new direction to genius, baniſhed for a time that vein of ancient poetry, which had been ſo ſucceſsfully revived and cultivated during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Inventive poetry, however, loſt nothing by this relapſe. Had claſſical taſte and judgment been ſo early eſtabliſhed, imagination muſt have ſuffered: truth and reaſon, as an ingenious critic obſerves, would have chaſed before their time, thoſe viſions of illuſive fancy which delight to hover on

5. *Mém. ſur l' Ancien Chevalrie*, par M. De la Curne de St. Palaye.

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the gloom of ſuperſtition, and which form ſo conſiderable a part of modern literature. We ſhould ſtill have been ſtrangers to the beautiful extravagancies of romantic fabling. LETTER LVI.

THIS new ſpecies of compoſition took its riſe in the thirteenth century, among the Troubadours or minſtrels of Provence; and was originally written in the Provençal dialect, then the moſt poliſhed and univerſal of any modern tongue. Theſe Troubadours, who ſeem to have been the lineal ſucceſſors of the Celtic bards, had followed in crowds to the Holy Land, the princes and nobles by whom they were patroniſed. They had ſeen the riches and ſplendour of oriental cities, and the pomp of oriental princes: they had beheld the greateſt ſcene of war that modern times had yet exhibited. They had ſeen the combined armies of Europe and of Aſia encamp in the plains of Paleſtine; they had alſo ſeen them engage. Their imagination was inflamed by the ſumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial cognizances, and grand pavilions, in which the champions of the croſs ſtrove to excel each other; but ſtill more by the enthuſiaſtic valour of the combatants. They had ſeen many wonderful things, and heard many marvellous tales; and they gave to the whole, on their return, the colouring of poetic fancy, heightened by all the exaggerations of Aſiatic imagery, and filled with all the extravagancies of Aſiatic fiction [6].

THE ignorance and credulity of the age, the ſuperſtitious veneration paid to the heroes of the cruſades,

6. Among theſe may be numbered dwarfs, giants, dragons, and necromancers; for I am unwilling to give up the Eaſt, with a certain learned critic, the honour of the beautiful invention of fairies. See Warton, *Hiſt. Engliſh Poetry*, vol. i.

PART I. the frightful ideas formed of the infidels, and the diſtance of country, made the wildeſt conceptions of the poet be received with all the avidity of truth. The romance became the favourite mode of compoſition; and as every kingdom in Europe had its valourous knights, every kingdom ſoon had its romances: and every romance was nearly the ſame. Whether the ſcene was laid in ancient or in modern times, in Spain or in Syria, the ſame ſet of ideal beings were introduced, the ſame kind of plot was purſued, and the ſame manners were painted. A lady miraculouſly fair and chaſte, and a knight more than humanly brave and conſtant, encountering monſters, and reſiſting the allurements of enchantreſſes, formed the ground-work of all thoſe unnatural compoſitions.

MODERN poetry, however, did not long remain in this rude ſtate. The Romance, which had its riſe in the manners of chivalry, and which rendered them ſtill more romantic, fell into diſrepute as ſoon as thoſe manners began to decline. It was ſucceeded by the allegorical tale; in which the virtues and vices, appetites and paſſions, took the place of human beings, and were made ſubſervient to the deſign of the poet. This ſhadowy production was followed by the Italian epic; which, like the heroic poem of the Greeks, conſiſts of a compound of mortal, immortal, and allegorical perſonages. Dante, Arioſto, and Taſſo, are ſuppoſed to have carried it to perfection.

DANTE, the father of Italian poetry, flouriſhed in the beginning of the fourteenth century. His *Inferno*, though full of extravagancies, is one of the greateſt efforts of human genius. No poem, ancient or modern, affords more ſtriking inſtances of the true ſublime,

ſublime, and true pathetic[7]. He was ſucceeded by Petrarch and Boccacio, who perfected the Italian language.

PETRARCH is the firſt modern poet, who writes with claſſical elegance and purity. He appears to have been intimately acquainted with the beauties of the ancients, and to have ſtudied their graces. His Canzoni, or lyric pieces, have often all the eaſe of Horace, and all the delicacy of Tibullus. In many of them, however, we diſcover a degree of that puerile conceit or affectation of wit, that perpetual effort to ſay ſomething brilliant, which ſeems inſeparable from Italian poetry; and the Platonic ideas with which all his paſſionate writings abound, though admired by his countrymen, as a decent veil to love, give to his celebrated ſonnets to Laura too much the air of hymns to a divinity, to intereſt the human heart. His elegy on the death of that lady, whoſe ſtory is well known,

7. Since the firſt publication of this work, Mr. Hayley has given to the world an *Eſſay on Epic Poetry*; a performance, whatever may be its poetical merit, which abounds with much good ſenſe and ſound criticiſm. And I am happy to find my opinion of the higher Italian poets ſupported by the ſuffrage of an author, who poſſeſſes ſo large a ſhare of public favour. He thus concludes the character of Dante, after judiciouſly obſerving, that he *raiſed to epic pomp his native tongue*:

"Unequal ſpirit! in thy various ſtrain,
"With all their influence light and darkneſs reign;
"In thy ſtrange verſe and wayward theme alike
"New forms of beauty and diſorder ſtrike;
"Extremes of harmony and diſcord dwell,
"The ſeraph's muſic and the dæmon's yell!
"The patient reader, to thy merit juſt,
"With tranſport glows, and ſhudders with diſguſt.
"Thy failings ſpring from thy diſaſtrous time;
"Thy ſtronger beauties from a ſoul ſublime,
"Whoſe vigour burſt, like the volcano's flame,
"From central darkneſs to the ſphere of fame."

Eſſay on Epic Poetry, Epiſt. iii.

PART I. has been much, and deſervedly admired. It partakes of the faults, and of the beauties of all his compoſitions, as will appear from the following lines, tranſlated by Sir William Jones, in the true ſpirit of the original.

" Go, plaintive breeze, to Laura's flowry bier,
" Heave the warm ſigh, and ſhed the tender tear.
" There to the awful ſhade due homage pay,
" And ſoftly thus addreſs the ſacred clay:
" Say, envied earth, that doſt thoſe charms infold,
" Where are thoſe cheeks, and where thoſe locks of gold?
" Where are thoſe eyes, which oft the muſe has ſung?
" Where thoſe ſweet lips and that enchanting tongue?
" Ye radiant treſſes, and thou, nectar'd ſmile,
" Ye looks that might the melting ſkies beguile,
" You robb'd my ſoul of reſt, my eyes of ſleep,
" You taught me how to love, and how to weep."

Boccacio has great and various merit. He is chiefly known as a proſe writer; and his proſe compoſition is ſuperior, in purity of diction, to that of every other Italian author. But if his modeſty had not led him to commit to the flames his poetical performances, from an apprehenſion of their inferiority to thoſe of his maſter Petrarch, he might poſſibly have appeared no leſs conſiderable as a poet. One piece, which paternal tenderneſs preſerved, and three others that eſcaped the general ruin, give reaſon for this opinion. The favourite piece is entitled the *Theſeid*; and although it confounds, like all the poems of that age, ancient and modern manners, times, and ceremonies, it abounds with ſo many native beauties, as to leave criticiſm only room for admiration. It is of the heroic kind; and the fable is better conſtructed, and filled with more intereſting incidents, than that

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of any Italian poem of the ſame period[8]. It has been rendered into Engliſh, with alterations and additions, by Chaucer, under the name of the *Knight's Tale*; and, as modernized by Dryden, is perhaps the moſt animated and truly harmonious piece of verſification in our language.

THE reputation of Boccacio, however, with the world in general, is founded on his *Decameron*; which is, indeed, an enchanting work. It contains more good tales, of the gay and facetious kind, than had then been produced by all other writers, ancient and modern. The moſt celebrated moderns, in that walk, have borrowed from it their beſt pieces. Chaucer and Fontaine, though they lived at almoſt three hundred years diſtance from each other, are equally indebted to the *Decameron*. Theſe tales of Boccacio are the firſt modern compoſitions that give us any idea of the manners of domeſtic life; and both the ſtyle in which they are related, and the ſubjects which they unfold, prove that civilization was then in an advanced ſtate in Italy.

BUT Italy was not the only country where civilization had made advances. The Engliſh court was, at that time, the moſt ſplendid in Europe, and one of the moſt poliſhed. Thither many accompliſhed foreigners reſorted, to behold the grandeur, and to enjoy the bounty of the third Edward. The ſpoils of France ſwelled the pomp of England; while a cap-

8. "The gay Boccacio tempts the Italian Muſe
"More varied notes and different themes to chuſe;
"Themes which her voice had dar'd not yet to ſound,
"Valour's heroic feats by beauty crown'd."
Id. Ibid.

PART I.

tive king, and his unfortunate nobles, civilized its manners, by accuſtoming its haughty and inſolent barons to the exerciſe of mutual complaiſance. Edward himſelf, and his illuſtrious ſon, the Black Prince, were the examples of all that was great in arms, or gallant in courteſy. They were the patrons and the mirrors of chivalry. The ſtately caſtle of Windſor, built in this heroic reign, ſaw the round table of king Arthur reſtored, and the order of the Garter inſtituted; that glorious tribute to gallantry, and ſacred badge of honour. Tilts, tournaments, and pageants, were conſtantly exhibited; and with a magnificence formerly unknown.

THE ladies, who thronged the court of Edward, and crowded to ſuch ſpectacles, arrayed in the richeſt habits, were the judges in thoſe peaceful, though not always bloodleſs combats; and the victorious knight, in receiving from the hand of beauty the reward of his proweſs, became deſirous of exciting other paſſions beſide that of admiration. He began to turn his eyes from fancy to the heart. He aſpired at an intereſt in the ſeat of the affections. Inſtead of the cold conſent of virtue, he ſought the warm return of love; inſtead of acquieſcence, he demanded ſenſibility. Female pride was rouſed at ſuch a requeſt: aſſiduities and attentions were employed to ſoothe it; and nature and cuſtom, vanity and feeling, were long at war in the breaſt of woman. During the courſe of this ſentimental ſtruggle, which had its riſe in a more rational mode of thinking, which opened more freedom of intercourſe, and terminated in our preſent familiar manners, the two ſexes mutually poliſhed each other; the men acquired more ſoftneſs and addreſs, the women more knowledge and graces.

In a reign of ſo much heroiſm and gallantry, the Muſes were not likely to ſleep. Jeffery Chaucer, the father of Engliſh poetry, was the brighteſt ornament of Edward's court. He added to a lively genius and a learned education, a thorough knowledge of life and manners. He was perfectly a man of the world; and had frequently viſited France and Italy, and ſometimes under the advantage of a public character. He had ſtudied the Italian and Provençal poets, was intimately acquainted with both languages, and attempted ſucceſsfully all the kinds of poetry then in uſe. His tranſlation of the *Theſeid* of Boccace, I have already mentioned. He alſo tranſlated, and greatly improved, the famous allegorical poem, called the *Romance of the Roſe*, written by William of Lorris and John of Meun, two celebrated French poets of thoſe times: and he compoſed his *Canterbury Tales* after the model of the *Decameron*. They abound with much true humour and pleaſantry; and, though chiefly borrowed, entitle their author to a diſtinguiſhed rank among the writers of his age. The Prologues, in particular, which are entirely his own, contain a vein of moral ſatire that has not hitherto been exceeded.

Chaucer, however, had many diſadvantages to ſtruggle with, from which his cotemporaries were in a great meaſure free. William the Conqueror had attempted to extirpate the Engliſh tongue. The Norman language was ordered to be uſed in all public writings, and taught in all public ſchools. It was alſo the dialect of the court. That badge of ſlavery was only aboliſhed by Edward III. It had continued almoſt three hundred years. Chaucer had therefore to create, or at leaſt to form a new dialect. This circumſtance ought always to be attended to in contemplating the writings of our venerable bard; as it

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PART I. alone can account for that prodigious diſparity obſervable, after all his diligence, between the progreſs of Engliſh manners, and of the Engliſh language. Had things continued to proceed in their natural order, Chaucer's ſtyle would now have been nearly as intelligible as that of Shakſpeare.

But this bright dawn of Engliſh literature and Engliſh refinement, was deeply obſcured by the civil wars that followed, and which continued, with little interruption, till the acceſſion of Henry VII. During that long period of anarchy, genius went to decay; and the animoſities of faction had rendered the manners of the people almoſt altogether ſavage. The ſeverity of Henry's temper and government was little calculated to promote either letters or politeneſs; and the religious diſputes, which took place under the reign of his ſon, were a new bar in the way of civilization. Chaucer had no ſucceſſor worthy of himſelf, till the days of Elizabeth.

Like circumſtances obſtructed the progreſs of literature in France, till the reign of Francis I. of whom I ſhall have farther occaſion to ſpeak, and who is deſervedly ſtyled the Father of the French Muſes. *Chants Royaux*, *Ballades*, *Rondeaux*, and *Paſtorales*, had taken place of the Provençal poetry, about the beginning of the fourteenth century; but Froiſſart, who cultivated with ſucceſs this *New Poetry*, as it was called, was not equal to William of Lorris or John of Meun. The *Romance of the Roſe* was ſtill the fineſt French poem.

Genius, in the mean time, continued to advance, with giant ſtrides, in Italy. A ſucceſſion of great poets followed Dante in the higheſt walk of the Muſe:

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at length appeared Arioſto and Taſſo, the glory of the ſixteenth century, and whoſe celebrated works are ſuppoſed to contain all that is excellent in poetry. The *Orlando* of Arioſto is a wonderful production. It is formed upon the Gothic plan, if it can be ſaid to have any, and conſequently is wild and extravagant; but it abounds with ſo many, and ſuch various beauties, that, whether conſidered as a whole or in parts, it commands our warmeſt approbation [9]. The *Jeruſalem* of Taſſo is a more claſſical performance. It is conſtructed after the Grecian model; and adds to an intereſting and happily conducted fable, a number of ſtriking and well drawn characters, all operating to one end, together with a profuſion of beautiful machinery, affecting ſituations, ſublime images, and bold deſcriptions [10]. Voltaire prefers the firſt to the *Odyſſey*, the ſecond to the *Iliad* of Homer; but you, I hope, have a juſter taſte of ſolid elegance, and of what

LETTER LVI.

9. "High in mid air, between the moon and earth,
"The bard of pathos now, and now of mirth,
"Pois'd with his lyre between a Griffin's wings,
"Her ſportive darling, Arioſto ſings.
"As the light cloud, whoſe varying vapours fly,
"Driven by the zephyr of the evening ſky,
"Fixes and charms the never-weary'd view,
"By taking ev'ry ſhape and ev'ry hue;
"So, by Variety's ſupreme controul,
"His changeful numbers ſeize the willing ſoul."
Hayley, *Eſſay on Epic Poetry*, Epiſt. iii.

10. After having characterized Arioſto, Mr. Hayley proceeds thus, in perfect conformity with the text:

"Of chaſter fire a rival name ſucceeds,
"Whoſe bold and glowing hand Religion leads:
"In ſolemn accent and in ſacred ſtate,
"With claſſic lore and Chriſtian zeal elate,
"Sweetly pathetic, and ſublimely ſtrong,
"Taſſo begins his more majeſtic ſong;
"The Muſe of Sion, not implor'd in vain,
"Guides to th' impaſſion'd ſoul his heavenly ſtrain."
Id. ibid.

is

PART I. is truly great in nature and in poetry, than to be ſwayed by ſuch an opinion.

THE progreſs of genius in Italy, however, during this period, was not confined to poetry; and ſtill leſs to one ſpecies of it. Petrarch and Boccacio had their ſucceſſors, as well as Dante. The dramatic talent began to diſcloſe itſelf. Theatrical repreſentation was revived. Both tragedy and comedy had been attempted with ſucceſs before the middle of the ſixteenth century; but that muſical drama, which has long been ſo univerſal in Italy, and which, in excluding nature and probability, has enlarged the bounds of harmony, was yet in its infancy.

MUSIC is one of the firſt ſciences that is cultivated, and the laſt that is perfected in any country. The rude tale of the bard is accompanied with the wild notes of his voice and harp, in order to atone for his want of ideas, and to engage attention; but as fable becomes more extenſive and rich, the legendary poet diſdains to court the ear with any thing but the harmony of his numbers. He relies for intereſt on the powers of imagination and ſentiment; and theſe, without any adventitious aid, produce their effect upon a people civilized, but not corrupted. The dramatic writer, in like manner, obtains his end, for a time, by the happy diſpoſition of plot, the force of dialogue, and the ſtrength and variety of his characters. But in proportion as mankind become more refined, they become more effeminate; and the luxury of harmony is found neceſſary to give to theatrical repreſentation its proper influence. Then, and not till then, does the muſical ſcience attain perfection; and then poetry begins to decline. Every thing is ſung;

ſung; every thing is compoſed to be warbled through the eunuch's throat, and ſenſe is ſacrificed to ſound. LETTER LVI.

A SIMILAR obſervation may be extended to hiſtory. The deeds of the hero are the firſt object of human curioſity; yet mankind, in almoſt every country, have ceaſed to act with dignity, before their actions have been properly recorded. Truth appears cold and inſipid to a people inclined to wonder, and wonder is the predominant paſſion of all uncivilized nations. Fiction is called in to gratify it; and fable is, for a time, received as hiſtory. But when men come to be more employed about political objects, they become more deſirous of being informed than amazed: they wiſh to know the real actions of their anceſtors, and the cauſes and the conſequences of ſuch actions. The hiſtorian takes advantage of this diſpoſition of mind to procure admiſſion to his labours; but as it is more difficult to aſcertain facts than to aſſume them, and eaſier to aſſign motives of action, and deduce incidents ingeniouſly from them, than to trace the motives of men in their actions, and give to truth ſuch a degree of colouring as will make it intereſt, without rendering its validity ſuſpected, hiſtory has every where been later in attaining perfection than the higheſt works of imagination.

ITALY had at laſt her hiſtorians, and excellent ones. Machiavel ſucceſsfully courted the comic muſe, unfolded the principles of a dark and pernicious policy, and digeſted the annals of his native country with all the diſcernment of Tacitus; while Guicciardini, a more amiable writer, related the tranſactions of his own times with the elegance and exactneſs of Thucydides.

PHILO-

PART I.

PHILOSOPHY was only wanting in the ſixteenth century, to bring Italy within the line of compariſon with ancient Greece, when Greece was in her glory. A number of independent and free ſtates vied with each other in all the elegant and commercial arts; in wealth and in luxury, in manners and in talents, in pomp and in power. Proud of her privileges, and of her liberal acquiſitions, ſhe looked down with contempt upon every other country, and branded every other people with the name of barbarians. Two great monarchs, like thoſe of Perſia and Macedon, were contending who ſhould be her maſter. She wanted only the lights of philoſophy to render the parallel complete. Bewildered in the mazes of ſcholaſtic reaſoning, or loſt in the dreams of perverted Platoniſm, her ſages were ſtill alike ignorant of the ſyſtem of man and of the univerſe. And before they could know either, it was neceſſary that the veil of ſuperſtition ſhould be rent; that mankind, beholding the puppet to which they had kneeled, and by which they had been overawed, might fearleſſly look through the range of nature, and contemplate its phyſical and moral order.

LETTER

LETTER LVII.

The Progreſs of NAVIGATION, *and particularly among the* PORTUGUESE. *A ſhort Introduction to the Hiſtory of* PORTUGAL. *The Diſcoveries and Settlements of the* PORTUGUESE *on the Coaſt of* AFRICA, *and in* INDIA, *by the Cape of* GOOD HOPE. *The Diſcovery of* AMERICA *by the* SPANIARDS; *the Settlement of the* WEST INDIES, *and the Conqueſt of* MEXICO *and* PERU, *together with ſome Reflections on the moral and political Conſequences of thoſe great Events.*

LETTER LVII.

FROM the arts that poliſh nations, my dear Philip, let us turn our eyes more particularly toward thoſe that aggrandiſe them; which ſupply the wants of one people with the ſuperfluities of another, and make all things common to all. Such are navigation and commerce. By theſe, and the arts to which they give birth, the Phœnicians and Carthaginians crowded with cities their barren ſhores, and attained the firſt rank among ancient nations; by theſe, in later times, the Venetians and Dutch, ſtruggling from dirt and ſea-weed, crowned with palaces their lakes and marſhes, and became, in different æras, the moſt opulent and powerful people in Modern Europe; by theſe Britain now governs the ocean, and gives law to the oppoſite extremities of the globe, at the ſame time that ſhe wafts from pole to pole, the luxuries and the conveniencies of life [1].

THE navigation of Europe, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, though much improved ſince the

1. This letter was written before the revolt of our American colonies.

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age of Charlemagne, was chiefly confined to the Mediterranean and Baltic ſeas, and was ſtill little more than what is now called *coaſting*. Flanders was the great theatre of commerce. Thither, as I have already had occaſion to obſerve, the Italian ſtates conveyed from the ports of Egypt, the precious commodities of the Eaſt; and thither the Hanſeatic merchants carried from the ſhores of the Baltic, the naval ſtores, and other rude merchandiſe of the North. To this common mart all European nations reſorted. Here they ſold or exchanged the produce of their ſeveral countries, and ſupplied themſelves with what they wanted, without dreaming of new ports, or ſuſpecting that the ſyſtem of commerce could be altered. Dantzick, Liſbon, and Alexandria continued to mark the limits of practical navigation; when the enlightened and enterpriſing genius of Don Henry of Portugal extended the views of the mariner, and emboldened him to pilot the Atlantic, or Great Weſtern Ocean. But before I ſpeak of that prince, and the diſcoveries which he accompliſhed, I muſt ſay a few words of his country, which I have hitherto conſidered only as an appendage of Spain.

PORTUGAL, which forms the weſtern coaſt of the ſouthern peninſula of Europe, had no exiſtence as a ſeparate ſtate till towards the cloſe of the eleventh century. About that time Alphonſo VI. king of Caſtile and Leon, having conquered from the Moors the northern provinces of the preſent kingdom of Portugal, beſtowed them, together with his natural daughter, upon Henry of Burgundy, a noble volunteer, who had aſſiſted him in his wars. Henry took only the title of count; but his ſon Alphonſo, having recovered other provinces from the Moors, aſ-

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ſumed the regal dignity in 1139. The kings of Portugal, like thoſe of Spain, long ſpent their force in combating the Moors, and had no connexion with the reſt of Europe. A detail of thoſe barbarous wars would be equally void of inſtruction and amuſement. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the ſucceſſion continued uninterrupted in the line of Burgundy, till the death of Ferdinand, in 1383; when John of Caſtile, who had married the infanta of Portugal, claimed the crown, as the king had left no male iſſue. But the ſtates of Portugal, after an interregnum of eighteen months, gave it to John, natural brother of their deceaſed ſovereign, and at that time regent of the kingdom [a]. A. D. 1385.

THIS John, ſurnamed the Baſtard, no leſs politic than enterpriſing, proved worthy of his new dignity. He was the firſt European prince who formed a reſpectable navy; which he employed, with equal ſucceſs, in annoying his enemies, and in protecting his ſubjects. He took Ceuta from the Moors, and overawed the ſtates of Barbary during his whole reign. He had ſeveral ſons, who all ſignalized themſelves by their valour and abilities; but more eſpecially the third, Don Henry, whoſe bold and enlightened genius, aſſiſted by the reports of travellers, led him to project diſcoveries in the Weſtern Ocean. A. D. 1414.

THIS amiable prince, who joined the virtues of a hero and a patriot to the knowledge of a philoſopher, turned to uſe that aſtronomy which the Arabs had preſerved. He had a conſiderable ſhare in the invention of the Aſtrolabe, and firſt perceived the advantage that might be drawn from the direction of the

a. Neufville, *Hiſt. Gen. de Portugal.*

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A. D. 1420. their return diſcovered the iſland of Madeira. Other pilots, yet more bold, were ſent out. They doubled Cape Bajadore, Cape Blanco, Cape Verd, and at laſt Cape Sierra Leona, within eight degrees of the line,
A. D. 1463. before the death of Don Henry. In the courſe of theſe voyages, the Azores and Cape de Verd iſlands had been diſcovered, and the vine and the ſugar-cane introduced into the iſland of Madeira, and there cultivated with ſucceſs.

UNDER the reign of John II. a prince of the moſt profound ſagacity and moſt extenſive views, who firſt made Liſbon a free port, the Portugueſe proſecuted their diſcoveries with equal ardour and ſucceſs. The river Zara, on the other ſide of the line, conducted
A. D. 1484. them to the kingdom of Congo, in the interior part of Africa, where they made eaſy conqueſts, and eſtabliſhed an advantageous commerce. Captain Diaz
A. D. 1486. paſſed the extreme point of Africa, to which he gave the name of the *Stormy Cape*; but the king, who ſaw more fully the importance of that diſcovery, ſtyled it the *Cape of Good Hope*.

EMMANUEL I. purſued the great projects of his pre-
A. D. 1497. deceſſors. He ſent out a fleet of four ſhips, under the command of Vaſco de Gama, a noble Portugueſe, in order to complete the paſſage to India by ſea. This admiral

of gold, erected a citadel to ſecure his conqueſt, and returned to Goa. LETTER LVII.

THE friendſhip of the Portugueſe was now courted by the Samorin, Idalcan, and all the moſt formidable Indian princes, who offered to permit fortreſſes to be built, and factories to be eſtabliſhed in any part of their dominions. Albuquerque did not fail to profit by their offers; and judging that the ſeaſon was now arrived for giving the final blow to the Arabian commerce in the Eaſt, he embarked in his original projects, the conqueſt of Aden and of Ormus.

IN his attempt upon Aden, which was then the key of Egypt, Albuquerque miſcarried; but he committed ſo many ravages on the coaſts of the Red Sea, and in the ſtraits of Babelmandel, as entirely ruined the commerce of the Arabs and Egyptians. He was more ſucceſsful in his expedition againſt Ormus, at that time the moſt opulent and ſplendid city in the Eaſt. It appears to have been nothing inferior to what we are told of ancient Tyre, either in wealth or in ſplendour, in induſtry or in pleaſure: and, like Tyre, it was ſeated in a barren iſle. Like Tyre, it ſeemed only to have been disjoined from the land, that it might become queen of the ſea. It was one of the greateſt marts in the univerſe. But its voluptuous inhabitants were little able to withſtand the impetuous and hardy valour of the Portugueſe. Albuquerque ſoon made himſelf maſter of the place, and had the honour of there receiving an embaſſy from the king of Perſia[8]. A.D. 1513. A.D. 1515.

THE reduction of Ormus, which was the laſt enterprize of this truly great man, together with the poſ-

8. Guyon, *Hiſt. des Ind. Orient.* tom. i. *Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. i.

ſeſſion

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ſeſſion of Goa and Malacca, gave perfect ſecurity to the Portugueſe commerce in India. His ſucceſſors afterwards extended it into China and Japan; but it was never more reſpectable than under Albuquerque. Yet this founder of his country's greatneſs died in diſgrace, and of a broken heart, if ever any man may be ſaid to have done ſo. That dauntleſs ſpirit which had encountered ſo many enemies, and ſurmounted ſo many dangers, could not ſupport the frowns of his prince. Emmanuel, become jealous of his glory, had liſtened to the inſinuations of his enemies; had appointed another governor in his ſtead, and promoted thoſe whom he had ſent home as criminals. When Albuquerque received this intelligence, he ſighed and ſaid, "Can theſe things be ſo?—I incurred the hatred "of men by my love for the king, and am diſgraced "by him through his prepoſſeſſion for other men: to "the grave, unhappy old man! to the grave!—thy "actions will ſpeak for themſelves and for thee [9]."

WHILE the Portugueſe, my dear Philip, were thus employed in making acquiſitions in the Eaſt, and appropriating to themſelves the moſt lucrative commerce in the known world, the Spaniards had diſcovered a new continent toward the Weſt. They had called into exiſtence, as it were, another world; had opened new ſources of trade, expanded new theatres of dominion, and diſplayed new ſcenes of ambition, of avarice, and of blood.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS a Genoeſe navigator, who reſided at Liſbon, and who had devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, firſt conceived the idea of this new continent. Perfectly acquainted with the figure of the earth, the notion of the Antipodes,

9. Id. Ibid.

conſidered

conſidered by reaſon as a chimera, and by religion as impiety, appeared to him an inconteſtable fact. But if Columbus had not added the ſtout heart of a hero to the enlightened mind and perſevering ſpirit of a philoſopher, the world might ſtill have been ignorant of his diſcoveries. The Genoeſe, his countrymen, whom he propoſed to put in poſſeſſion of another hemiſphere, treated him as a viſionary. He alſo unfolded his project, the greateſt that human genius ever formed, in 1484, to the court of Portugal without ſucceſs. He next laid it before the court of Spain; where he long ſuffered all that ſupercilious neglect which unſupported merit ſo often meets with from men in office, who are too apt to deſpiſe what they do not underſtand.

FERDINAND and Iſabella were then engaged in the conqueſt of Granada. The Spaniſh treaſury was exhauſted. But no ſooner were the Moors ſubdued, than the ambitious mind of Iſabella ſeemed to ſympathiſe with the bold ſpirit of Columbus. She offered to pledge her jewels, in order to furniſh him with a fleet. Three ſmall veſſels were fitted out by other means: and Columbus ſet ſail from the port of Palos, in Andaluſia, on the third of Auguſt, in the year 1492, in queſt of a Weſtern continent, with the title of Admiral, and Viceroy of the Iſles and Lands which he ſhould diſcover [10].

TRANSCENDANT genius and ſuperlative courage, experience almoſt equal difficulty in carrying their deſigns into execution, when they depend on the aſſiſtance of others. Columbus poſſeſſed both, he exerted

10. *Life of Columbus*, written by his ſon, chap. xv.

both;

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THIS was a ſevere trial to the courage of Columbus, and Columbus only perhaps could have ſupported it. The enthuſiaſm of genius added ſtrength to his natural fortitude. Cool and unconcerned himſelf about every thing but his great object, he had recourſe to the ſofteſt language. He encouraged his men by fair promiſes, he deceived his officers by falſe reckonings. But all theſe expedients proving at laſt ineffectual, he demanded three days indulgence; at the end of which, if he did not diſcover land, he promiſed to abandon his project. His requeſt was granted; and on the morning of the ſecond day, being the 12th of October, to his inexpreſſible joy, he got ſight of one of the Bahama iſlands, to which he gave the name of San Salvador. He took poſſeſſion of it in the name of their Catholic Majeſties, and proceeded on his courſe [12].

11. Oviedo, *Hiſt. de Ind.* lib. ii. xxiii.

12. *Life of Columbus*, chap.

AFTER

AFTER leaving San Salvador, now better known by the name of Guanahani, given to it by the natives, Columbus fell in with ſeveral other ſmall iſlands; to one of which he gave the name of Iſabella, in honour of his patroneſs, and to another that of Ferdinand, in compliment to the Catholic king. Theſe he rightly judged to belong to that Weſtern continent which he ſought, and which he conjectured muſt reach to the Portugueſe ſettlements in India, hence the name of *Weſt Indies*. At length he arrived at the Iſland of Cuba, where he entered into ſome correſpondence with the natives, and particularly with the women, from whom he learned, that the gold ornaments which they wore, came from Bohio, a large iſland to the ſouth-eaſt. Thither Columbus ſteered: What heart does not pant after gold! He ſoon reached Bohio, or Hayti, as it was called by the natives, to which he gave the name of Eſpagnola, altered by us into Hiſpaniola. Here Columbus built a fort, and planted a little colony; after which, having taken a general ſurvey of the iſland, and ſettled a friendly intercourſe with the natives, he ſet out on his return to Spain, carrying along with him a ſufficient quantity of gold to evince the importance of his diſcoveries, and ſome of thoſe new people to complete the aſtoniſhment of Europe.

THE natives of Hiſpaniola, and indeed of all the iſlands which Columbus had viſited, were an eaſy, indolent, harmleſs race. They were of a copper colour. The men and the girls went entirely naked: the women had a mat of cotton wrapped about their loins. They had no hair on any part of the body but the head; a diſtinction which alſo is common to the natives of the American continent. They conſidered the Spaniards as divinities, and the diſcharge of the artillery as their thunder: they fell on their faces at the ſound,

PART I. found. The women, however, ſeem very early to have had leſs awful apprehenſions of their new gueſts: for they no ſooner ſaw them, than they offered their favours, and courted their embraces as men [13]. Some wicked wit may indeed ſay, that women from the beginning have been fond of ſuperior beings; and if we credit ancient ſtory, they have often had good reaſon for ſuch fondneſs. But be that as it may, it is certain that the women of Hiſpaniola were fonder of the Spaniards than of their huſbands. Their huſbands were not jealous of them. And in the arms of thoſe wantons the companions of Columbus are ſaid to have caught that fatal malady which has ſtrewed with new thorns the paths of love; and which, if human happineſs is to be computed by the balance of pain and pleaſure, will be found to be more than a counterpoiſe to all the gold of Mexico, the ſilver of Peru, and the diamonds of Brazil.

But let not this misfortune be brought as a charge againſt the great navigator. He could not know, that the new hemiſphere contained new maladies: he could not foreſee, that he ſhould import into Europe a diſtemper which would poiſon the ſprings of life; which would propagate diſeaſe from generation to generation, emaſculate the vigour of nations, and multiply a thouſand ways the miſeries of mankind!—And happily for him, his enemies were ignorant of it at his return. He again entered the port of Palos on the 15th of March, 1493, after a voyage of ſeven months and eleven days, and was received with univerſal acclamations of joy. Thoſe who had ridiculed his project, were the readieſt to pay court to him. He was or-

13. Herrara, dec. i.

dered

dered into the preſence of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and deſired to ſit covered like a grandee of Spain. Royal favour beamed upon him with unremitting brightneſs, and the church loaded him with its benedictions. Superſtition lent its ſanction to thoſe diſcoveries which had been made in its defiance. Pope Alexander VI. iſſued a bull, granting to the ſovereigns of Spain all the countries which they had diſcovered, or ſhould diſcover, an hundred leagues to the weſtward of the Azores. A fleet of ſeventeen ſail was fitted out in a few months; and Columbus, veſted with yet more extenſive powers, and furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for diſcovery, for colonization, or for conqueſt, again committed himſelf to the waves in queſt of a Weſtern Continent [14].

GREAT things were expected from this ſecond voyage; and many new iſlands were diſcovered: yet it ended in general diſappointment, misfortune, and diſguſt. When Columbus arrived at Hiſpaniola, with a multitude of miſſionaries, ſoldiers, and ſettlers, he found the fortreſs uttrely ruined and the garriſon all maſſacred. They had drawn upon themſelves this untimely fate by their arrogance, licentiouſneſs, and tyranny. Theſe particulars he learned from the natives, accompanied with ſuch marking circumſtances, as left him no room to diſbelieve them. He therefore entered once more into a friendly correſpondence with thoſe artleſs people, eſtabliſhed a new colony, and built the town of Iſabella; afterwards abandoned for that of St. Domingo, which became the capital of the iſland. His next care was to diſcover the mines; near which he erected forts, and left garriſons to protect the labourers. But neither the wiſdom nor humanity of

14. *Life of Columbus*, chap. xlii. xliii.

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this great man were ſufficient to preſerve order among his followers, or to teach them fellow-feeling. They rouſed anew, by their barbarities, the gentle ſpirit of the natives: they quarrelled among themſelves, they roſe againſt their commander. Mortified by ſo many untoward circumſtances, Columbus committed the government of the iſland to his brother Bartholomew, and returned to Spain in 1496, with ſome ſamples of gold duſt and gold ore, pearls, and other precious products, after having a ſecond time attempted in vain to diſcover a Weſtern Continent [15].

Bartholomew Columbus ſuffered many hardſhips, and was on the point of ſinking under the mutineers, before he received any aſſiſtance from the court of Spain; and although the great Chriſtopher was able to clear himſelf of all the aſperſions of his enemies, ſome years elapſed before he could obtain a third appointment for the proſecution of his favourite project. At laſt a ſmall fleet was granted him, and he diſcovered the continent of America, near the mouth of the river Orinoco, on the firſt day of Auguſt in the year 1498. He carried off ſix of the natives, and returned to Hiſpaniola, convinced that he had now reached the great object of his ambition.

But while Columbus was employed in reducing to obedience the mutineers in that iſland, another navigator unjuſtly took from him the honour of the diſcovery of the Weſtern Continent. The merchants of Seville having obtained permiſſion to attempt diſcoveries, as private adventurers, ſent out four ſhips in 1499, under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus in his ſecond voyage, aſſiſted by Americus Veſpucius, a Florentine gentle-

15. Herrera, dec. i. lib. iii.

man,

admiral poſſeſſed all the knowledge and talents neceſſary for ſuch an expedition. After being aſſailed by tempeſts, encircling the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, and ranging through unknown ſeas, he happily arrived at the city of Calicut on the coaſt of Malabar, or the higher part of the weſtern ſide of the great peninſula of India [3]. LETTER LVII. A.D. 1498.

CALICUT was at that time the emporium of Indoſtan. Thither the Arabs reſorted for all the rich products and precious manufactures of the Eaſt. Theſe they carried in ſhips to the ports of the Red Sea, and ſold to the Italian merchants from Alexandria. This information Gama received at Melinda, on the coaſt of Zanquebar, the moſt eaſtern part of Africa, where he had touched; and engaged a pilot, who conducted him into the harbour of Calicut, when the trade was at its height. Here he fortunately met with a native of Barbary, named Monzaida, who underſtood the Portugueſe language, and whoſe admiration of that people over-balanced the prejudices of religion and country. This admiration determined Monzaida to do every thing in his power to ſerve ſtrangers, who unboſomed themſelves to him without reſerve. He procured Gama an audience of the Samorin or emperor, who received him very favourably; and a treaty of commerce was ſet on foot in the name of the king of Portugal. But this negociation, when almoſt completed, was broke off by the inſinuations of the Arabs. Jealous of their lucrative trade, they repreſented ſo ſtrongly the danger of ſuch an alliance, and the ambition of the Portugueſe, that the Samorin took the ungenerous reſolution of putting to death thoſe bold na-

3. *Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. i.

PART I. A. D. 1498. vigators, whom he had lately treated with kindneſs, and whoſe friendſhip he ſeemed to deſire.

INFORMED of his danger by the faithful Monzaida, Gama ſent his brother on board the fleet. "Should "you hear," ſaid he, "of my death or impriſon-"ment, I prohibit you, as your commander, either "to attempt to releaſe me or to avenge my fate. Set "ſail immediately, and inform the king of the ſucceſs "of our voyage. I am happy in having performed "his orders, and diſcovered a paſſage to India for "Portugal[4]."

FORTUNATELY, however, matters were not puſhed to that extremity. Gama lived to carry to Portugal the news of his own ſucceſs. The Samorin permitted him to join his fleet, and he departed ſoon after for Europe.

A. D. 1499. No language can expreſs the joy of the Portugueſe on the return of Gama to Liſbon. They ſaw themſelves, by one daring enterprize, in poſſeſſion of the richeſt commerce in the world; and no leſs ſuperſtitious than avaritious, they flattered themſelves with the proſpect of extending their religion along with their dominion.

THE pope farther encouraged this hope. Glad of an occaſion of aſſerting his univerſal ſovereignty, he granted to the Portugueſe all the countries which they had diſcovered, or ſhould diſcover in the Eaſt, on condition that they ſhould there plant the catholic faith. The whole nation was ſeized with the enthuſiaſm of converſion and of conqueſt. They preſented themſelves in crowds to man the new fleet deſtined for India; and thirteen ſhips ſailed, as ſoon as the

4. Faria y Souſa, *Port. Aſia*, vol. i.

ſeaſon

ſeaſon would permit, from the Tagus for Calicut, under the command of Alvarez de Cabral. LETTER LVII. A. D. 1500.

THIS admiral in his paſſage keeping out to ſea, in order to avoid the calms on the coaſt of Africa, and the ſtorms which had been met with in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, diſcovered the rich country now called Brazil, to which he gave the name of the *Land of the Holy Croſs*. He took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the king his maſter, and proceeded on his voyage. When he arrived on the coaſt of Malabar, the Samorin made him an offer of friendſhip, and invited him to Calicut, where he had an audience of that Indian prince, and was permitted to open a magazine of commerce. But this good underſtanding was of ſhort duration. The Arabs again found means to poiſon the mind of the Samorin: the admiral did not behave with the greateſt diſcretion: mutual jealouſies took place, mutual fears, and mutual injuries. At laſt the inhabitants of Calicut roſe, murdered fifty Portugueſe, and burnt their magazine. This act of hoſtility did not eſcape unpuniſhed. Cabral, in revenge of ſuch a breach of faith, and ſuch undermining perfidy, deſtroyed all the Arabian veſſels in the port, beat down great part of the city, and left it in flames [5].

AFTER this ſecond rupture with the Samorin the meaſures of the Portugueſe in India were totally changed. The peaceful ſyſtem of Gama was laid aſide: the maxims of mutual advantage gave place to thoſe of violence, of force, and of fear; and commerce was eſtabliſhed by the ſword. Cabral, on

5. Maffæi, *Hiſt. Indica.* lib. ii. cap. iv.

PART I. leaving Calicut, entered into a negociation with the kings of Cochin, Cananor, Onor, Culan, and other Indian princes, who were tributaries of the Samorin, and deſirous of independency. This love of freedom procured the Portugueſe the ſovereignty of Malabar,
A. D. 1501. and the trade of India. Cabral promiſed thoſe deluded princes ſupport, and carried their ambaſſadors to the court of Liſbon, where ſuch political ſteps were taken as rendered ſucceſs infallible. A force was ſent out
A. D. 1502. ſufficient to combat the Samorin. But no prince could obtain the protection of Portugal without firſt acknowledging himſelf its vaſſal, permitting a fortreſs to be erected in his capital, and ſelling his commodities to its ſubjects at their own price. No ſtrange merchant might load a cargo, till the Portugueſe were ſerved; nor any mariner navigate thoſe ſeas, but with their paſſports. They were the terror and admiration of the Eaſt, the wonder and envy of the Weſt. All European merchants ſoon reſorted to Liſbon for Indian commodities; becauſe they could there purchaſe them much cheaper than at Venice, or any other mart to which they were brought by the way of Egypt. And, happily for Portugal, the Venetians were then ſinking under the preſſure of the league of Cambray.
A. D. 1508.

In order to ſecure and render perpetual theſe invaluable advantages, the chief command in India was given to Alphonſo Albuquerque, a man of ſingular ſagacity and penetration, and equally diſtinguiſhed by his military and political talents. Albuquerque was no ſooner inveſted with the government, than he began to form the moſt extenſive projects; many of which he executed, and with a facility that is altogether incredible. The Arabs ſettled in India, and their aſſociates, he had long been ſenſible, were the only

power

power in the Eaſt that the Portugueſe had to fear. LETTER LVII.
Theſe traders had ſecretly entered into a league with the Samorin, the Sultan of Egypt, and the Vene- A. D. 1508.
tians, who were gainers by their commerce, and whoſe intereſt it was to deſtroy the trade of Portugal. The furniſhers of the caravans, and navigators of the Red Sea, were the natural enemies of the circumnavigators of the Cape. Albuquerque ſaw it early, while a private commander. He had therefore done every thing in his power to ruin their ſettlements on the coaſt of Arabia, and their united naval force had received a ſignal overthrow in the Indian Ocean. He now extended his views: he projected nothing leſs than the conqueſt of Ormus in the Perſian gulf, and of Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea; where Portugueſe ſquadrons ſtationed, might command the trade of Perſia and of Egypt.

THE immediate execution of theſe projects would at once have proved fatal to the commerce of the Arabs and their allies; but Albuquerque, upon mature A. D. 150
deliberation, perceived the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing the Portugueſe more fully on the coaſt of Malabar, before he divided his forces. He accordingly burnt Calicut, which had long been a thorn in the ſide of his countrymen; and obſerving, that the Portugueſe had yet no good port in a wholeſome air, where they might refit their ſhips and recruit their ſeamen, after the fatigues of an European voyage, he reſolved to procure one. He found that Liſbon had need of Goa.

GOA, which riſes to view in the form of an amphitheatre, is ſituated towards the middle of the coaſt of Malabar, in an iſland detached from the continent by two branches of a river, that throws itſelf into the

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ſea at ſome diſtance from the city, after having formed beneath its walls one of the fineſt harbours in the world. It properly belonged to the king of Decan; but a Moor, named Idalcan, to whom the government of it had been entruſted, had rendered himſelf its ſovereign. While this uſurper was occupied on the continent, Albuquerque appeared before the city, and carried it by aſſault[6]. It was afterwards recovered, but ſoon retaken: and Goa became the capital of the Portugueſe empire in India.

A.D. 1510.

ALBUQUERQUE, whoſe ambition was boundleſs, attempted next to eſtabliſh the Portugueſe on the coaſt of Coromandel. With this view he made an attack upon Malacca, ſituated near the ſtraits of Sincapore, one of the richeſt cities in India, and the beſt adapted for commerce. It was the centre of the trade between Japan, China, the Spice-Iſlands, and the other Indian ports. When Albuquerque appeared before Malacca, he found it in a poſture of defence: and a new obſtacle conſpired to retard his progreſs. His friend Araujo was there a priſoner, and threatened with death the moment the city ſhould be beſieged. Deliberating how to act, while the ſentiments of friendſhip and ambition, perhaps of duty, ſtruggled in his breaſt, he received the following billet from Araujo. "Think only of the glory and advantage of Portu-"gal: if I cannot be an inſtrument of your victory, "let me not retard it." The place was carried by ſtorm, after an obſtinate defence, and ſeveral changes of fortune. The Portugueſe found in it an immenſe booty, both in treaſure and precious commodities[7]. Albuquerque, whoſe heart was ſuperior to the charms

A.D. 1511.

6. Lafitau, *Hiſt. de Conq. des Port.* *Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. i.
7. Id. ibid.

of

man, deeply ſkilled in the ſcience of navigation. This fleet touched on that part of the Weſtern continent already diſcovered by Columbus, whoſe tract Ojeda followed; and Americus, who was a man of much addreſs, as well as poſſeſſed of conſiderable literary talents, by publiſhing the firſt voyages on the ſubject, and other artful means, gave his name to the New World, in prejudice to the illuſtrious Genoeſe [16]. Mankind are now become ſenſible of the impoſture, but time has ſanctified the error; and the great Weſtern continent, or fourth diviſion of the globe, ſo long unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, ſtill continues to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of AMERICA.

THIS, however, was but a ſmall misfortune in compariſon of what Columbus was doomed to ſuffer. His enemies having prevailed at the court of Madrid, a new governor was ſent out to Hiſpaniola. The great diſcoverer and his brother were loaded with irons, and ſent home in that condition, in different ſhips. Touched with ſentiments of veneration and pity, Vallejo, captain of the veſſel on board of which the admiral was confined, approached his priſoner with profound reſpect, as ſoon as he was clear of the iſland, and offered to ſtrike off the fetters with which he was unjuſtly bound. "No Vallejo!"—replied Columbus, with a generous indignation; "I wear theſe fet-"ters in conſequence of an order from my ſove-"reigns. They ſhall find me as obedient to this, "as to all their other injunctions. By their com-"mand I have been confined, and their command a-"lone ſhall ſet me at liberty [17]."

16. Herrara, dec. i. lib. iv.

17. *Life of Columbus*, chap. xxxiii.

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THE Spaniſh miniſtry were aſhamed of the ſeverity of their creature, Bovadilla: Columbus was ſet at liberty on his arrival, and a fourth command granted him in 1502, for the proſecution of farther diſcoveries. But this expedition did not prove more fortunate than the former; for although Columbus touched at ſeveral parts of the American continent, where he exchanged trinkets for gold and pearls, to a conſiderable amount, he failed in an attempt to eſtabliſh a colony on the river Yebra or Belem, in the province of Veraguá, and loſt every thing in his courſe home. He was ſhipwrecked on the Iſland of Jamaica: his followers mutinied; and after being alternately in danger of periſhing by hunger, or by violence, he arrived in Spain, in 1505, to experience a more ſevere fate than either [18]. Queen Iſabella was dead at his return. With her all his hopes of future favour periſhed. The court received him coldly. His ſervices were too great for humility: his proud heart diſdained to ſue, and his aſpiring ſpirit could not ſubmit to neglect. He retired to Valadolid, where he was ſuffered to fall a martyr to the ingratitude of that monarch, to whom he had given the Weſt Indies, and for whom he had opened a paſſage into a richer and more extenſive empire than was ever ſubdued by the Roman arms. He died with firmneſs and compoſure, on the 20th of May 1506, in the fifty-ninth year of his age [19].

THERE is ſomething in true genius which ſeems to be eſſentially connected with humanity. Don Henry, Gama, and Columbus, proſecuted their diſcoveries, upon the moſt liberal principles, thoſe of mutual advantage: they ſought to benefit, not to deſtroy their

18. *Life of Columbus*, chap. lxxxix. xc. xci. Herrera, dec. i. lib. vi.

19. Ibid. chap. cviii.

ſpecies.

ſpecies. After the death of Columbus, the maxims of Spain, like thoſe of Portugal, became altogether bloody. Religion, avarice, and violence, walked hand in hand. The croſs was held up as an object of worſhip, to thoſe who had never heard of the name of Jeſus: and millions were deliberately butchered, for not embracing tenets which they could not underſtand, not delivering treaſures which they did not poſſeſs, or not ſuffering oppreſſions which man was never born to bear, and which his nature cannot ſuſtain [20].

The leader who purſued theſe new maxims with leaſt violence to humanity, and moſt advantage to his country, was Fernando Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico. Before the diſcovery of that rich and powerful empire, the Spaniſh colonies of Hiſpaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, were in a flouriſhing condition; frequent expeditions had been made to the continent, and ſettlements eſtabliſhed in Caſtello del Oro and the iſthmus of Darien. At laſt a deſcent was made in the gulf of Mexico, and information received of the opulence and grandeur of the emperor Montezuma and his capital. Velaſquez, governor of Cuba, to whom this intelligence was communicated, immediately reſolved upon the conqueſt of Mexico, and committed to Cortez, an officer hitherto more diſtinguiſhed by his merit than his rank, the execution of the enterprize: and that gallant ſoldier accompliſhed, what appears too bold even for fiction, the overthrow of an empire that could ſend millions into the field, with ſo ſmall a force as five hundred men [21]. A.D. 1518.

20. *Relacion de Deſtruyc de las Indias*, par Bart. de las Caſas.
21. De Solis, lib. ii. Herrera, dec. ii.

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A ſucceſs ſo unexampled, in an unknown country, muſt have been accompanied with many favourable circumſtances, independent of the ability of the general, the courage of the troops, and even the ſuperiority of weapons. Some of theſe we know. When
A.D. 1519. Cortez landed with his little army on the coaſt of Mexico, he met with a Spaniſh captive, who underſtood the dialect of the country, and whoſe ranſom he obtained. He alſo formed an intimacy with a fair American named Marina, who ſoon learned the Caſtilian language, and became both his miſtreſs and his counſellor. Her attachment communicated itſelf to all the Mexican women, who were generally neglected by their huſbands for the moſt abominable of all debaucheries; that which perverts the animal inſtinct, confounds the diſtinction of ſex, and defeats the leading purpoſe of nature. While the men oppoſed their naked breaſts to the weapons of the Spaniards, fell by their blows, or fled from their fury, the women every where flew to their embrace; rioted in their arms, and rendered them all the ſervices in their power.

To theſe fortunate occurrences may be added, the arrival of the ambaſſadors of Montezuma, who endeavoured, by preſents, to engage the invaders to reimbark. The delay which this negociation produced, was of infinite ſervice to Cortez. An army, inſtead of an embaſſy, on his firſt landing, might have ruined him. He replied, by his female interpreter, who beſt underſtood the Mexican tongue, that he was only an ambaſſador himſelf, and, as ſuch, could not depart without an audience of the emperor. This anſwer put the ambaſſadors of Montezuma to a ſtand. They reported it to the emperor. He was alarmed at the requeſt. They redoubled their preſents: they employed

ployed perſuaſions, but to no purpoſe. Cortez was inflexible. At laſt they had recourſe to threats, according to their inſtructions, and talked loudly of the forces and the treaſures of their country. "Theſe," ſaid Cortez, turning to his companions, "theſe are "what we ſeek; great perils and great riches." Stronger motives could not have been offered to needy adventurers, burning with the ſpirit of chivalry and the luſt of plunder. Their leader ſaw conqueſt in their looks; and having now received the neceſſary informations, and prepared himſelf againſt all hazards, he boldly marched toward the ſeat of the empire [22].

LETTER LVII. A. D. 1519.

THE Spaniſh general, however, though ſo little diffident of his own ſtrength, prudently negociated with ſuch princes and ſtates as he found to be enemies of the Mexicans. Among theſe the moſt powerful was the republic of Tlaſcala. Cortez propoſed an alliance to the ſenate. It divided upon the ſubject; but at laſt came to a reſolution, not only to deny aſſiſtance to the Spaniards, but to oppoſe them. This reſolution had almoſt proved fatal to Cortez and his enterprize. The Tlaſcalans were a brave people, and brought a formidable army into the field; but by the help of fire-arms, artillery, and cavalry, to theſe republicans above all things tremendous, the Spaniards, after repeated ſtruggles, were enabled to humble them. They ſaw their miſtake; entered into a treaty with Cortez, and were highly ſerviceable in his future operations.

THE invaders now advanced without interruption to the gates of Mexico. Montezuma was all irreſolution and terror. That mighty emperor, whoſe treaſures were immenſe, and whoſe ſway was abſolute;

22. Herrera, dec. ii. De Solis, lib. iii. iv.

PART I. who was lord over thirty princes, each of whom could bring a numerous army into the field, was ſo intimidated by the defeat of the Tlaſcalans, that he wanted reſolution to ſtrike a blow in defence of his dignity. The haughty potentate who had ordered Cortez to depart his coaſts, introduced him into his capital. Inſtead of making uſe of force, he had recourſe to perfidy. While he profeſſed friendſhip to the Spaniſh general, he ſent an army to attack the Spaniſh colony, newly ſettled at Vera Cruz, and yet in a feeble condition. Cortez received intelligence of this breach of faith, and took one of the boldeſt reſolutions ever formed by man. He immediately proceeded to the imperial palace, accompanied by five of his principal officers, and arreſted Montezuma as his priſoner; carried him off to the Spaniſh quarters; made him deliver to puniſhment the officer who had acted by his orders, and publicly acknowledge himſelf, in the ſeat of his power, the vaſſal of the king of Spain [23].

A.D. 1519.

In the height of theſe ſucceſſes Cortez was informed, that a new general, ſent by the governor of Cuba, was arrived with a ſuperior force to ſupplant him in the command, and reap the fruits of his victories. He marched againſt his rival: he defeated him; he took him priſoner; and the vanquiſhed army, gained by the magnanimity and confidence of the victor, ranged themſelves under his ſtandard. Thus reinforced, by an occurrence which threatened the extinction of his hopes, he returned with rapidity to the city of Mexico, where he found full occaſion for this acceſſion of ſtrength.

A.D. 1520.

The Mexicans were all in arms, and had ſurrounded the party, which Cortez had left to guard the em-

23. De Solis, lib. iv. Herrera, dec. ii.

peror,

peror. This inſurrection was occaſioned by the avarice and intemperate zeal of the Spaniards; who, on a ſolemn feſtival in honour of the Gods of the country, had maſſacred two thouſand of the Mexican nobles, under pretence of a ſecret conſpiracy, and ſtript them of their precious ornaments. The ſpirit of the people was rouſed: they were incenſed at the confinement of their prince; they were filled with holy indignation at the inſult offered to their Gods, and they longed to revenge the fate of their nobility. Cortez found it difficult to reſiſt their fury. They permitted him, however, to join his detachment, though not from motives of friendſhip or generoſity: they hoped to involve the whole body of the Spaniards in one undiſtinguiſhed ruin. "We have diſcovered," ſaid they, "that you are not immortal; and although the "death of every Spaniard ſhould coſt us a thouſand "lives, we are determined to complete your deſtruc-"tion. After ſo great a ſlaughter, there will ſtill "remain a ſufficient number to celebrate the vic-"tory [24].

In conſequence of this reſolution, the Mexicans attacked the Spaniſh quarters with incredible bravery. They were ſeveral times repulſed, and as often returned to the charge with undiminiſhed ardour. They devoted themſelves chearfully to death; boldly advanced in the face of the artillery, threw themſelves in crowds upon the muſquetry, and fearleſsly grappled the mouths of the guns in attempting to aſcend the fortifications. Montezuma judged this a favourable opportunity for obtaining his freedom and the departure of the Spaniards. On thoſe conditions he conſented to employ his good offices with his people. He

24. Id. ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1520.

ſhewed himſelf on the ramparts, clad in his royal robes, and endeavoured to induce the multitude to retire. They at firſt ſeemed over-awed by the preſence of their ſovereign, and ready to obey his commands; but ſuddenly recollecting the puſillanimity of his behaviour, their love was changed into hate, their veneration into contempt, and a ſtone, launched by an indignant arm, at once deprived Montezuma of the empire and his life [25].

THAT accident gave ſincere concern to Cortez, and was a real misfortune to the Spaniards. The ſucceſſor of Montezuma was a fierce and warlike prince, and reſolutely determined to ſupport the independency of his country. Cortez, after ſeveral ineffectual ſtruggles, found himſelf under the neceſſity of quitting the city. The Mexicans harraſſed him in his retreat; they took from him all his baggage and treaſure; and they engaged him in the field, before he had time to recruit his forces, with an army of two hundred thouſand men. The enſigns of various nations waved in the air, and the imperial ſtandard of maſſy gold was diſplayed. Now was the time for heroiſm; and ſtronger proofs of it were never exhibited than in the valley of Otumba. "Death or victory!" was the charge, and the reſolution of every Spaniard. The Mexicans were ſoon broken, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued; but freſh crowds ſtill preſſing on, ſupplied the place of the ſlain, and the Spaniards muſt have ſunk under the fatigue of continual fighting, had not Cortez by a happy preſence of mind, put an end to the diſpute, and rendered the victory deciſive. He ruſhed, at the head of his cavalry, towards the imperial ſtandard, cloſed with the Mexican general who

25. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. viii. De Solis lib. iv. cap. xiv, xv.

guarded

guarded it, and at one ſtroke of his lance tumbled him out of his litter. The ſtandard was ſeized, and the conſequence proved as Cortez had expected: the Mexicans threw down their arms, and fled with precipitation and terror[26]. LETTER LVII. A. D. 1519.

THIS victory, and the aſſiſtance of the Tlaſcalans, encouraged Cortez to undertake the ſiege of Mexico: and another fortunate circumſtance enabled him to complete his conqueſt. The new emperor Guatimozin was taken priſoner in attempting to make his eſcape out of his capital, in order to rouſe to arms the diſtant provinces of his dominions. The metropolis ſurrendered, and the whole empire ſubmitted to the Spaniards. A. D. 1521.

THE city of Mexico is repreſented as one of the moſt ſtriking monuments of human grandeur. Its ſpacious ſquares, its ſumptuous palaces, its magnificent temples, are pompouſly diſplayed by the Spaniſh hiſtorians; but we muſt not give entire credit to thoſe ſplendid deſcriptions. The mechanical arts could not be carried to great perfection in a country where the uſe of iron was unknown; nor could the ſciences or liberal arts be cultivated with ſucceſs among a people ignorant of letters. The hieroglyphics, which the Mexicans are ſaid to have made uſe of for communicating their ideas, could but imperfectly anſwer that end, in compariſon of general ſymbols or ſigns; and without a facile method of recording paſt tranſactions, and of preſerving our own thoughts and thoſe of others, ſociety can never make any conſiderable progreſs. The ferocious religion of the Mexicans is another proof of their barbarity; for although we frequently find abſurd ceremonies prevail among po-

[26] De Solis, lib. iv. cap. xx.

liſhed

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liſhed nations, we ſeldom or ever meet with thoſe that are cruel. Civilized man has a feeling for man. Human blood was profuſely ſpilt upon the altars of the Mexican gods; and, if we believe the moſt reſpectable Spaniſh hiſtorians, human fleſh (though only that of enemies) was greedily devoured both by the prieſts and the people. Enormous ſuperſtition and exceſſive deſpotiſm always go hand in hand. When the mind is enſlaved, it is eaſy to enſlave the body. Montezuma was the moſt abſolute ſovereign upon earth, and his ſubjects the moſt abject ſlaves.

THE conqueſt of Mexico was followed by that of Peru, another country in the new world abounding yet more in precious metals.

PERU had long been governed by a race of emperors, under the name of Incas, who were ſuppoſed to be the deſcendants of the Sun. The name of the
A.D. 1532. Spaniſh invader was Pizarro, and that of the Inca in poſſeſſion of the crown, Atahualpa. Alarmed at the ravages of the Spaniards, this prince agreed to an interview with their general, in order to ſettle the conditions of a peace. Though Pizarro ſolicited the conference, he had no thoughts but of war. The Inca, it is ſaid, was not more ſincere in his profeſſions. He came to the place of meeting carried upon a throne of gold, and attended by upwards of ten thouſand men: twenty thouſand more are reported to have waited his ſignal; but for this report, or the inſincerity of the Inca, there ſeems to have been no foundation in fact. All the Peruvians were richly dreſſed, and their arms glittered with gold and precious ſtones. The avarice of the Spaniards was inflamed. Pizarro diſpoſed his followers, who did not exceed two hundred, in the moſt advantageous order, while Vincen-

LETTER LVII.

A.D. 1532.

ti Valverde, a Dominican friar, advanced towards Atahualpa, with a crucifix in one hand and a breviary in the other. He addreſſed to the Inca, by the help of an interpreter, a long diſcourſe, unfolding the principles of the Chriſtian faith, and preſſing him to embrace that religion, and ſubmit himſelf to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru. Atahualpa, who had liſtened with a good deal of patience, replied thus to his pious admoniſher: "How extravagant is it in the pope, to give away ſo liberally "that which doth not belong to him!—He is inferior, you own, to God the Father, to God the Son, "and to God the Holy Ghoſt: theſe are all your "gods; and the gods only can diſpoſe of kingdoms. "I ſhould like to be a friend to the king of Spain, "who has ſufficiently diſplayed his power by ſending "armies to ſuch diſtant countries; but I will not be "his vaſſal. I owe tribute to no mortal prince: I "know no ſuperior upon earth. The religion of my "anceſtors I venerate: and to renounce it would be "equally abſurd and impious, until you have con"vinced me it is falſe, and that yours, which you "would have me embrace, is true. You adore a god, "who died upon a gibbet; I worſhip the Sun, who "never dies."

"VENGEANCE!"—cried Valverde, turning towards the Spaniards;—"vengeance, my friends!—"kill theſe dogs, who deſpiſe the religion of the "croſs [27]."

THE word of command was given; the artillery played; the muſquetry fired; the cavalry ſpread confuſion and terror; while Pizarro advanced, at the head of a choſen band, and ſeized the perſon of the

27. Benzoni, *Hiſt. Nov. Orb.* lib. iii. Herrera, dec. iii. Zarete, lib. iii. Garcilaſſo, lib. i.

Inca.

PART I. Inca. The ſlaughter was dreadful, and the pillage immenſe. The blow was final: Peru ceaſed to be an empire. The deſcendants of the Sun, who united in their perſon both the regal and pontifical dignity, ſunk under a ſet of banditti that knew not their birth. After draining Atahualpa of his treaſure, under pretence of a ranſom for his liberty, Pizarro condemned
A.D. 1533. him to be burnt alive, as an obſtinate idolater. But through the mediation of father Valverde, bleſſed interceſſor! the Inca's ſentence was changed into ſtrangling, on condition that he ſhould die in the Chriſtian faith[28]!

THE conqueſt of Mexico and Peru put the Spaniards at once in poſſeſſion of more ſpecie than all the other nations of Europe. Yet Spain from that æra has continued to decline. It has declined in population, induſtry, and vigour. The vices attendant upon riches have corrupted all ranks of men, and enervated the national ſpirit. From being the firſt kingdom in Europe, it is become one of the leſs conſiderable. Portugal has experienced a like fate, ſince the diſcovery of the paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the ſettlement of Brazil: and from the ſame cauſe, a too great and ſudden influx of wealth.

THESE reflections naturally lead us to enquire, "How far the diſcoveries of the Portugueſe and Spa-"niards have been advantageous to Europe, or bene-"ficial to mankind." The ſubject is complicated, and will beſt be illuſtrated by the ſequel of events, and the reflections ſuggeſted by ſuch a train of parti-

28. Id. Ibid.

culars,

culars. Meanwhile I ſhall obſerve, That writers in general are wrong in aſcribing to thoſe diſcoveries our preſent improvements in commerce and civilization. Commerce and civilization were faſt advancing in Europe before the beginning of the ſixteenth century; and this quarter of the globe would have been nearly in the ſituation in which we now find it, though no ſuch diſcoveries had been made. We ſhould not indeed have had ſo much ſpecie, but we ſhould have had leſs occaſion for it: the price of labour would have been lower, and would have borne the ſame proportion to the price of proviſions, which would have anſwered the purpoſe of a larger quantity of circulating money. Our reſources in war would have been fewer; but our real ſtrength might perhaps have been greater, as we ſhould not have had occaſion to colonize and combat at both extremities of the globe.

It muſt, however, be owned, That the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope, in the firſt inſtance, has been of ſingular ſervice to the general commerce of Europe. Our trade with India was formerly conducted by means of the Arabs, who, conſequently, had a ſhare in the profits: it is now entirely carried on by Europeans. European ſhips and European ſailors, import the commodities of the Eaſt into our harbours. But in balance of this advantage, the new paſſage, by being open to every nation, has increaſed the taſte for Indian commodities, and whetted the avarice of man. It has made the nations of Europe maſſacre one another in the South of Aſia, and rob and murder the induſtrious natives, without feeling or remorſe; while it has hurt the European manufacturer, by furniſhing foreign fabrics of ſuperior quality, at a lower price than he can afford to ſell. It

has

PART I. has encouraged a loſing trade: for ſuch, in general, that with India muſt be accounted; a trade which continues to drain Europe of its bullion and ſpecie, the commodities of the Eaſt being chiefly purchaſed with gold and ſilver.

THE mines of Mexico and Peru are neceſſary to ſupply that drain. So far the diſcovery of America muſt be accounted a good, or at leaſt the palliation of an evil. Beſides, the colonies eſtabliſhed on the continent, and in the iſlands of America, depend chiefly upon Europe for their manufactures, and furniſh an honeſt and comfortable maintenance to millions of our people, who muſt otherwiſe have wanted bread, or have lived in the loweſt ſtate of wretchedneſs. In this view, America is favourable both to induſtry and population. Theſe are ſolid advantages, and the ſuperabundance of the precious metals alone could make Spain and Portugal overlook them. They are poor amid their treaſures; while other nations, profiting by their indolence, grow wealthy by ſupplying their wants. The labour of a people is the only deſirable ſource of their riches, and the only certain road to their felicity; though mankind, in general, are ſo ignorant as to ſuppoſe, that they ſhould be happier without toil.

THE diſcovery of America has increaſed the labour of Europe, and conſequently its happineſs, collectively conſidered. It has alſo increaſed the number of the civilized part of the human ſpecies, by opening a boundleſs region for the planting of European colonies; which have greatly flouriſhed in many parts, and ſupplied the inhabitants of the mother-countries with a variety of commodities, formerly unknown, that

that contribute to the more comfortable enjoyment of life, and to the extenſion of trade. But the violent means by which thoſe colonies were generally eſtabliſhed, and the outrages which continue to be exerciſed againſt the injured natives as often as they attempt to reinſtate themſelves in their original rights, together with the brutal ſlavery to which another race of men are condemned, in order to cultivate the lands ſo unjuſtly ſeized and held, are circumſtances over which humanity muſt ever mourn, and which the heart of every lover of his ſpecies will tell him no commercial, no political motives can authoriſe or vindicate.

We muſt now, my dear Philip, return to the line of general hiſtory, and enter upon that important æra, when all the great powers on the European continent, made a trial of their ſtrength in Italy; when religion united with ambition to give new energy to the ſword; when creeds, no leſs than kingdoms, became the ſource of war, and fire and faggot were employed to enforce human belief.

LETTER LVIII.

A general View of the Affairs of EUROPE *from the Election of* CHARLES V. *in* 1519, *till the Peace of* CAMBRAY, *in* 1529, *including the Progress of the Reformation.*

LETTER LVIII.

A.D. 1519.

THOUGH Maximilian could not prevail upon the German electors to chuſe his grandſon of Spain king of the Romans, he had diſpoſed their minds in favour of that prince: and other circumſtances, on the death of the emperor, conſpired to the exaltation of Charles. The imperial crown had ſo long continued in the Auſtrian line, that it began to be conſidered as hereditary in that family; and Germany, torn by religious diſputes, ſtood in need of a powerful emperor, not only to preſerve its own internal tranquillity, but alſo to protect it againſt the victorious arms of the Turks, who, under Selim I. threatened the liberties of Europe. This fierce and rapid conqueror had already ſubdued the Mamalukes, a barbarous militia that had diſmembered the empire of the Arabs, and made themſelves maſters of Egypt and Syria. The power of Charles appeared neceſſary to oppoſe that of Selim. The extenſive dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, which gave him an intereſt in the preſervation of Germany; the rich ſovereignty of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté; the entire poſſeſſion of the great and warlike kingdom of Spain, together with that of Naples and Sicily, all united to hold him up to the firſt dignity among Chriſtian princes: and the New World ſeemed only to be called into exiſtence that its treaſures might enable him to defend

Chriſtendom againſt the Infidels. Such was the language of his partizans. LETTER LVIII.

FRANCIS I. however, no ſooner received intelligence of the death of Maximilian, than he declared himſelf a candidate for the empire; and with no leſs confidence of ſucceſs than Charles. He truſted to his ſuperior years and experience, with his great reputation in arms, acquired by the victory at Marignan, and the conqueſt of Milan. And it was farther urged in his favour, that the impetuoſity of the French cavalry, added to the firmneſs of the German infantry, would prove irreſiſtible; and not only be ſufficient, under a warlike emperor, to ſet limits to the ambition of Selim, but to break entirely the Ottoman power, and prevent it from ever becoming dangerous again to Germany. A.D. 1519

BOTH claims were plauſible. The dominions of Francis were leſs extenſive, but more united than thoſe of Charles. His ſubjects were numerous, active, brave, lovers of glory and lovers of their king. Theſe were ſtrong arguments in favour of his power, ſo neceſſary at this juncture; but he had no natural intereſt in the Germanic body: and the electors, hearing ſo much of military force on each ſide, became more alarmed for their own privileges than the common ſafety. They determined to reject both candidates, and offered the imperial crown to Frederic, ſurnamed the Wiſe, duke of Saxony. But he, undazzled by the ſplendour of an object courted with ſo much eagerneſs by two mighty monarchs, rejected it with a magnanimity no leſs ſingular than great.

"IN times of tranquillity," ſaid Frederic, "we "wiſh for an emperor who has no power to invade

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"our liberties; times of danger demand one, who "who is able to ſecure our ſafety. The Turkiſh ar- "mies, led by a warlike and victorious monarch, are "now aſſembling: they are ready to pour in upon "Germany with a violence unknown in former ages. "New conjunctures call for new expedients. The "imperial ſceptre muſt be committed to ſome hand "more powerful than mine, or that of any other "German prince. We poſſeſs neither dominions, "nor revenues, nor authority, which enable us to "encounter ſuch a formidable enemy. Recourſe muſt "be had, in this exigency, to one of the rival mo- "narchs. Each of them can bring into the field "forces ſufficient for our defence. But as the king "of Spain is of German extraction, as he is a mem- "ber and prince of the empire by the territories "which deſcend to him from his grand-father, and "as his dominions ſtretch along that frontier which "lies moſt expoſed to the enemy, his claim, in my "opinion, is preferable to that of a ſtranger to our "language, to our blood, and to our country[1]." Charles was elected in conſequence of this ſpeech.

THE two candidates had hitherto conducted their rivalſhip with emulation, but without enmity. They had even ſoftened their competition by many expreſſions of friendſhip and regard. Francis in particular declared, with his uſual vivacity, that his brother Charles and he were fairly and openly ſuitors to the ſame miſtreſs: "The moſt aſſiduous and fortunate," added he, "will win her; and the other muſt reſt "contented[2]." But although a generous and high-minded prince, while animated by the hope of ſuc-

1. Scard. *Rer. Germ. Script.* Seckend. *Comment.* Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book i. 2. Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

ceſs,

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ceſs, might be capable of forming ſuch a philoſophic reſolution, it ſoon appeared that he had promiſed a moderation too refined for humanity, and which he was little able to practiſe. The preference was no ſooner given to his rival, than Francis diſcovered all the paſſions natural to diſappointed ambition. He could not ſuppreſs his chagrin and indignation, at being baulked in his favourite purpoſe, and rejected in the face of all Europe, for a youth yet unknown to fame. The ſpirit of Charles reſented ſuch contempt: and from this jealouſy, as much as from oppoſition of intereſts, aroſe that emulation between thoſe two great monarchs, which involved them in almoſt perpetual hoſtilities, and kept their whole age in agitation.

WHEN princes or private perſons are reſolved to quarrel, it is eaſy to find a brand of diſcord. Charles and Francis had many interfering claims in Italy; and, beſide theſe obvious ſources of contention and competition, the latter thought himſelf bound in honour to reſtore the king of Navarre to his dominions, unjuſtly ſeized by the crown of Spain. They immediately began to negociate; and as Henry VIII. of England was the third prince of the age in power and in dignity, his friendſhip was eagerly courted by each of the rivals. He was the natural guardian of the liberties of Europe. Senſible of the conſequence which his ſituation gave him, and proud of his pre-eminence, Henry knew it to be his intereſt to keep the balance even between the contending powers, and to reſtrain both, by not joining conſtantly with either. But he was ſeldom able to reduce his ideas to practice: he was governed by caprice more than by principle: the paſſions of the man were ever an over-match

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for the maxims of the king. Vanity and reſentment were the great ſprings of all his actions; and his neighbours, by touching theſe, found an eaſy way to draw him into their meaſures.

ALL the impolitic ſteps in Henry's government, however, muſt not be imputed to himſelf: many of them were occaſioned by the ambition and avarice of his prime miniſter and favourite, cardinal Wolſey. This man, who by his talents and accompliſhments, had riſen from one of the loweſt conditions in life to the higheſt employments, both in church and ſtate, and who lived with regal ſplendour, governed the haughty, preſumptuous, and intractable ſpirit of Henry, with abſolute aſcendancy. Equally rapacious and profuſe, he was inſatiable in deſiring wealth; vain and oſtentatious, he was greedy of adulation; of boundleſs ambition, he aſpired after new honours with an eagerneſs unabated by his former ſucceſs. To theſe paſſions he himſelf ſacrificed every conſideration, divine and human; and whoever ſought to obtain his favour, or that of his maſter, found it neceſſary alſo to ſacrifice liberally to them.

FRANCIS was equally well acquainted with the character of Henry and of his miniſter. He had ſucceſsfully flattered Wolſey's pride, by honouring him with particular marks of his confidence, and beſtowing upon him the appellations of Father, Tutor, and Governor; and he had obtained the reſtitution of Tournay, by adding a penſion to theſe reſpectful titles. He now ſolicited an interview with the king of
A.D. 1520. England near Calais; in hopes of being able, by familiar converſation, to attach him to his friendſhip

and

and intereſt, while he gratified the cardinal's vanity, by affording him an opportunity of diſplaying his magnificence in the preſence of two courts, and of diſcovering to the two nations his influence over their monarchs. A. D. 1520.

POLITIC, though young, Charles dreaded the effects of this projected interview between two gallant princes, whoſe hearts were no leſs ſuſceptible of friendſhip, than their manners were of inſpiring it. Finding it impoſſible, however, to prevent a viſit, in which the vanity of all parties was ſo much concerned, he endeavoured to defeat its purpoſe, and to preoccupy the favour of the Engliſh monarch, and of his miniſter, by an act of complaiſance ſtill more flattering and more uncommon. Relying wholly upon Henry's generoſity for his ſafety, he landed at Dover, in his way from Spain to the Low Countries. The king of England, who was on his way to France, charmed with ſuch an inſtance of confidence, haſtened to receive his royal gueſt; and Charles, during his ſhort ſtay, had the addreſs not only to give Henry favourable impreſſions of his character and intentions, but to detach Wolſey entirely from the intereſts of Francis. The tiara had attracted the eye of that ambitious prelate; and as the emperor knew that the papacy was the ſole point of elevation, beyond his preſent greatneſs, at which he could aſpire, he made him an offer of his intereſt on the firſt vacancy [3].

ON the day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with his whole court, in order to meet Francis. Their interview was in an open plain between

3 Polyd. Virg. Holingſhed. Herbert, *Hiſt. Henry VIII.* Fiddes, *Life of Wolſey.*

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Guiſnes and Ardres; where the two kings and their attendants diſplayed their magnificence with ſuch emulation and profuſe expence, as procured it the name of the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*. Here Henry erected a ſpacious houſe of wood and canvas, framed in London, on which, under the figure of an Engliſh archer, was inſcribed the following motto: "He prevails "whom I favour!" alluding to his own political ſituation, as holding in his hands the balance of power between the emperor and French monarch. Feats of chivalry, however, parties of gallantry, and ſuch exerciſes as were in that age reckoned manly or elegant, rather than ſerious buſineſs, occupied the two courts during the time they continued together, which was eighteen days. And here I cannot help noticing a circumſtance that ſtrongly marks the manners of thoſe times, and their contraſt to our's, if not their comparative ruſticity. After the French and Engliſh wreſtlers had exerciſed their ſtrength and agility, which, according to the phraſe of the hiſtorian, afforded *excellent paſtime*, the kings of France and England, ſays Fleuranges, retired to a tent, where they drank together; and the king of England ſeizing the king of France by the collar, ſaid, "My brother, I muſt wreſtle with you!" and attempted once or twice to *trip up his heels*; but the king of France, who was *an excellent wreſtler*, twiſted him round, and threw him on the ground with great violence. Henry wanted to renew the ſtruggle, but was prevented 4.

After taking leave of this ſcene of diſſipation, the king of England paid a viſit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy, at Gravelines, and engaged them

4. *Mem. de Fleuranges.*

to go along with him to Calais; where the artful and politic Charles completed the impreſſion which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendſhip to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. He renewed his aſſurances of aſſiſting Wolſey in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in preſent poſſeſſion of the revenues of the ſees of Badajox and Palencia, in Spain. He flattered Henry's pride, by convincing him of his own importance, and of the juſtneſs of the motto which he had choſen; offering to ſubmit to his ſole arbitration, any difference that might ariſe between him and Francis[5]. LETTER LVIII. A. D. 1520.

THIS important point being ſecured, Charles repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was ſolemnly inveſted with the crown and ſceptre of Charlemagne, in preſence of a more ſplendid and numerous aſſembly than had appeared on any former inauguration. About the ſame time Solyman II. ſurnamed the Magnificent, one of the moſt accompliſhed, enterpriſing, and warlike of the Turkiſh princes, and a conſtant and formidable rival of the German emperor, aſcended the Ottoman throne, in conſequence of the death of Selim.

THE firſt act of Charles's adminiſtration was the appointing a diet to be held at Worms, in order to concert with the princes of the empire proper meaſures for checking the progreſs of "thoſe new and dangerous "opinions, which threatened to diſturb the peace of "Germany, and to overturn the religion of their anceſtors." The opinions propagated by Luther and his followers were here meant. That bold innovator, after the diet at Augſburg, and the death of Maximi-

5. Polyd. Virg. Fiddes, ubi ſup.

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lian, had freely promulgated his opinions, under the protection of the Elector of Saxony, to whom the vicariate of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws was committed, during the interregnum that preceded the election of Charles V. And theſe opinions were ſuffered to take root in different places, and to grow up to ſome degree of ſtrength and firmneſs. But Leo X. though little ſkilled in ſuch controverſies, came at laſt to be alarmed at Luther's progreſs; and, convinced that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were in vain, iſſued a bull of excommunication againſt him. His books were ordered to be burnt, and he himſelf was delivered over to Satan, as an obſtinate heretic, if he did not, within ſixty days, publicly recant his errors.

THIS ſentence neither diſconcerted or intimidated Luther. After renewing his appeal to a general council, he publiſhed remarks upon the bull of excommunication, and boldly declared the pope to be the Man of Sin, or Antichriſt, whoſe appearance is foretold in the Revelations of St. John; declaimed againſt the tyranny and uſurpations of the court of Rome with greater vehemence than ever, exhorted all Chriſtian princes to ſhake off ſuch an ignominious yoke, and boaſted of his own happineſs in being marked out as the object of eccleſiaſtical indignation, becauſe he had ventured to aſſert the rights of religion, and the mental liberty of mankind. Nor did he confine his contempt of the papal power to words alone. He aſſembled all the profeſſors and ſtudents of the univerſity of Wittemberg, and with great pomp, and before a vaſt multitude of ſpectators, caſt the volumes of the canon law, together with the bull of excom-

excommunication, into the flames:—and his example was imitated in ſeveral other cities [6].

WHILE the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff were thus furiouſly ſhaken in Germany, an attack no leſs violent, and occaſioned by the ſame cauſes, was made upon them in Switzerland. The Franciſcans being entruſted with the ſale of indulgencies in that country, executed their commiſſion with the ſame unbluſhing rapaciouſneſs, which had rendered the Dominicans ſo odious in Saxony. They proceeded, however, with uninterrupted ſucceſs till they arrived at Zurich; where they received a mortal blow from Zuinglius, canon of that place, a man of extenſive learning, uncommon ſagacity, and heroic intrepidity of ſpirit. Animated with a republican boldneſs, and free from thoſe reſtraints which ſubjection to the will of a prince, and perhaps a remnant of original prejudice, impoſed upon the German reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid ſteps to overturn the whole fabric of the eſtabliſhed religion; and the pope's ſupremacy was ſoon denied in the greater part of Switzerland [7].

SUCH was the ſtate of the Reformation, when Charles V. arrived in Germany. No ſecular prince had yet embraced the new opinions; no change in the eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip had been introduced, nor any encroachments made upon the poſſeſſions or juriſdiction of the clergy: a deep impreſſion, however, was made upon the minds of the people; their reverence for ancient inſtitutions and doctrines was ſhaken; and the materials were already ſcattered,

6. Seckend. *Comment.* Luth. *Oper.* vol. ii. 7. Ruchart, *Hiſt. de la Reformat. en Suiſſ.* liv. i.

which

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which produced the conflagration, that afterwards ſpread over all Europe. Charles ſaw the flames gathering; and, as he found it neceſſary to ſecure the friendſhip of Leo X. he cited Luther to appear before the diet at

A.D. 1521. Worms. Luther did not heſitate a moment about yielding obedience: he accompanied the herald who brought the emperor's letter and ſafe-conduct. "I "am lawfully called to appear in that city," ſaid he to ſome of his friends, who were anxious for his ſafety; "and thither I will go in the name of the "Lord, though as many devils as tiles upon the "houſes were there aſſembled againſt me[8]."

HAD vanity and the love of applauſe, from which no human heart is free, been the ſole principles by which Luther was influenced, his reception at Worms was ſuch as he might have reckoned a full reward for all his labours. Vaſt crowds aſſembled to ſee him whenever he walked abroad; and his apartments were daily filled with princes and perſonages of the higheſt rank, who treated him with all the reſpect that is due to ſuperior merit, but which is more particularly commanded by thoſe who poſſeſs the power of directing the underſtanding and the ſentiments of others. Rank or birth can receive no homage ſo flattering; for they can receive none ſo ſincere, or which has ſo immediate a reference to thoſe qualities, which men call their own. Luther was not, however, intoxicated: he behaved before the diet with equal decency and firmneſs. He readily acknowledged an exceſs of vehemence and acrimony in his controverſial writings; but he refuſed to retract his opinions, till convinced of their falſhood, or conſent to their be-

8. Luth. *Oper.* vol. ii.

ing tried by any other ſtandard than the ſcripture. Neither threats nor entreaties could prevail on him to depart from this reſolution. Some of the fathers therefore propoſed to imitate the example of the council of Conſtance, in its proceedings relative to John Huſs; to commit to the flames the author of this peſtilent hereſy, now in their power, and deliver the church at once from ſo dangerous an enemy: but the members of the diet refuſing to expoſe the German integrity to freſh reproach by a ſecond violation of public faith, and Charles being no leſs unwilling to bring a ſtain upon the beginning of his adminiſtration by ſuch an ignominious meaſure, Luther was permitted to depart in ſafety [9]. A few days after he left the city, a ſevere edict was iſſued in the emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, forbidding any prince to harbour him, and requiring all to concur in ſeizing his perſon, as ſoon as his ſafe-conduct was expired. But the elector of Saxony, his faithful patron, took him again, though ſecretly, under protection. Luther, in ſolitude, propagated his opinions; and Charles, for a time, found other matters to engage his attention.

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THE Spaniards, who were diſſatisfied with the departure of their ſovereign, whoſe election to the empire they foreſaw would interfere with the adminiſtration of his own kingdom, and incenſed at the avarice of the Flemings, to whom the direction of public affairs had been committed ſince the death of cardinal Ximenes, broke out into open rebellion. Several grandees, in order to ſhake off that oppreſſion, entered into an aſſociation, to which they gave the name

9. F. Paul. Seckend.

of

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of the Sancta Juncta: and the ſword was appealed to, as the means of redreſs. This ſeemed, to Francis, a favourable juncture for reinſtating the family of John d'Albret, in the kingdom of Navarre. Charles was at a diſtance from that part of his dominions, and the troops uſually ſtationed there had been recalled to quell the commotions in Spain. A French army, under Andrew de Foix, ſpeedily conquered Navarre; but that young and inexperienced nobleman, dazzled with ſucceſs, and puſhed on by military ardour, ventured to enter Caſtile. Though divided among themſelves, the Spaniards united againſt a foreign enemy; routed his forces, took him priſoner, and recovered Navarre in a ſhorter time than he had ſpent in ſubduing it.

HOSTILITIES thus begun in one quarter, between the rival monarchs, rapidly ſpread to another. The king of France encouraged the duke of Bouillon to make war upon the emperor, and invade Luxembourg. Charles, after humbling the duke, attempted to enter France, but was repelled and worſted before Mezieres, by the famous chevalier de Bayard; diſtinguiſhed among his cotemporaries by the appellation of *The Knight without fear and without reproach*, and who united the talents of a conſummate general to the punctilious honour and romantic gallantry of the heroes of chivalry. Francis broke into the Low Countries; where, by an exceſs of caution, an error not natural to him, he loſt an opportunity of cutting off the whole imperial army; and, what was ſtill greater miſconduct, he diſguſted the conſtable Bourbon, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon [10].

10 *Oeuvr. de Brantome*, tom. vi. *Mem. de Bellay.*

DURING

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A.D. 1521.

DURING theſe operations in the field, an unſucceſsful congreſs was held at Calais, under the mediation of Henry VIII. It ſerved only to exaſperate the parties it was intended to reconcile. And a league was ſoon after concluded at Bruges, through the intrigues of Wolſey, between the pope, Henry, and Charles, againſt France. Leo had already entered into a ſeparate league with the emperor, and the French were faſt loſing ground in Italy [11].

THE inſolence and exactions of marechal de Lautrec, governor of Milan, had totally alienated the affections of the Milaneſe from France. They reſolved to expel the troops of that nation, and put themſelves under the government of Francis Sforza, brother of Maximilian their late duke. In this reſolution they were encouraged by the pope, who excommunicated Lautrec, and took into his pay a conſiderable body of Swiſs. The papal army, commanded by Proſper Colonna, an experienced general, was joined by reinforcements from Germany and Naples; while Lautrec, neglected by his court, and deſerted by the Swiſs in its pay, was unable to make head againſt the enemy. The city of Milan was betrayed by the inhabitants to the confederates; Parma and Placentia were united to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate: and of their conqueſts in Lombardy, only the town of Cremona, the caſtle of Milan, and a few inconſiderable forts remained in the hands of the French [12].

LEO X. received the account of his rapid ſucceſs with ſuch tranſports of joy, as are ſaid to have brought on a fever, which occaſioned his death. The ſpirit of

11. Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. xiii. Herbert, *Hiſt. Hen. VIII.*
12. Guicciardini, lib. xiv. *Mem. de Bellay.*

the

PART I. A.D. 1521.

the confederacy was broken, and its operations ſuſpended by that event. The Swiſs were recalled: ſome other mercenaries were diſbanded for want of pay; ſo that the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the emperor's ſervice, only remained to defend the duchy of Milan. But Lautrec, who with the remnant of his army had taken ſhelter in the Venetian territories, deſtitute both of men and money, was unable to improve this favourable opportunity. All his efforts were rendered ineffectual by the vigilance and ability of Colonna and his aſſociates.

MEANTIME high diſcord prevailed in the conclave. Wolſey's name, notwithſtanding all the emperor's magnificent promiſes, was ſcarcely mentioned there. Julio of Medicis, Leo's nephew, thought himſelf ſure of the election; when, by an unexpected turn of fortune, Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's preceptor, who at that time governed Spain in the character
A.D. 1522. of viceroy, was unanimouſly raiſed to the papacy, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, and the great diſguſt of the Italians.

FRANCIS, rouſed by the riſing conſequence of his rival, reſolved to exert himſelf with freſh vigour, in order to wreſt from him his late conqueſts in Lombardy. Lautrec received a ſupply of money, and a recruit of ten thouſand Swiſs infantry. With this reinforcement he was enabled once more to act offenſively, and even to advance within a few miles of the city of Milan; when money again failing him, and the Swiſs growing mutinous, he was obliged to attack the Imperialiſts in their camp at Bicocca, where he was repulſed with great ſlaughter, having loſt his braveſt officers and beſt troops. All the Swiſs that ſurvived imme-

immediately ſet out for their own country; and Lautrec deſpairing of being able to keep the field, retired into France. Genoa, which ſtill remained ſubject to Francis, and which made it eaſy for him to execute any ſcheme for the recovery of Milan, was ſoon after taken by Colonna: the authority of the emperor and his faction was every where eſtabliſhed in Italy. The citadel of Cremona was the ſole fortreſs that remained in the hands of the French[13].

A.D. 1522.

THE affliction of Francis, for ſuch a ſucceſſion of misfortunes, was augmented by the unexpected arrival of an Engliſh herald, who in the name of his ſovereign declared war againſt France. The courage of this high-ſpirited prince, however, did not forſake him. Though his treaſury was exhauſted by expenſive pleaſures, no leſs than by hoſtile enterprizes, he aſſembled a conſiderable army, and put his kingdom in a poſture for reſiſting his new enemy, without abandoning any of the ſchemes which he was forming againſt the emperor. He was ſurpriſed, but not alarmed at ſuch a denunciation.

WILLING to derive as much advantage as poſſible from ſo powerful an ally, Charles paid a ſecond viſit to the court of England in his way to Spain, where his preſence was become highly neceſſary. And his ſucceſs here exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations. He not only gained the entire friendſhip of Henry, who publicly ratified the treaty of Bruges, but diſarmed the reſentment of Wolſey, by aſſuring him of the papacy on Adrian's death; an event ſeemingly not diſtant, by reaſon of his age and infirmities. In conſequence of

13. Guicciardini, ubi ſup.

theſe

PART I. A. D. 1522.

theſe negociations an Engliſh army invaded France, under the command of the earl of Surrey; who, at the cloſe of the campaign, was obliged to retire, with his forces greatly diminiſhed, without being able to make himſelf maſter of one place within the French frontier. Charles was more fortunate than his ally. He ſoon quelled the tumults that had ariſen in Spain during his abſence.

WHILE the Chriſtian princes were thus waſting each other's ſtrength, Solyman the Magnificent entered Hungary, and made himſelf maſter of Belgrade, reckoned the chief barrier of that kingdom againſt the Turkiſh power. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he turned his victorious arms againſt the iſland of Rhodes, then the ſeat of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem; and although every prince in that warlike age acknowledged Rhodes to be the principal bulwark of Chriſtendom in the Levant, ſo violent was their animoſity againſt each other, that they ſuffered Solyman without diſturbance to carry on his operations againſt that city and iſland. Liſle Adam, the grand-maſter, made a gallant defence; but after incredible efforts of courage, patience, and military ſkill, during a ſiege of ſix months, he was obliged to ſurrender the place, having obtained an honourable capitulation from the ſultan, who admired and reſpected his heroic qualities [14]. Charles and Francis were equally aſhamed of having occaſioned, through their conteſts, ſuch a loſs to the Chriſtian world; and the emperor, by way of reparation, granted to the knights of St. John the ſmall iſland of Malta, where they fixed their reſidence, and continue ſtill to retain their ancient ſpirit, though much reduced in power and ſplendour.

14. Fontan. *de Bell. Rhod.* Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemag.* tom. viii.

LETTER LVIII.

ADRIAN VI. though the creature of the emperor, and devoted to his intereſt, endeavoured to aſſume the impartiality which became the common father of Chriſtendom, and laboured to reconcile the contending princes, that they might unite in a league againſt Solyman, whoſe conqueſt of Rhodes rendered him more formidable than ever to Europe. The Italian ſtates were no leſs deſirous of peace than the pope: and ſo much regard was paid by the hoſtile powers to the exhortations of his Holineſs, and to a bull, which he iſſued, requiring all Chriſtian princes to conſent to a truce for three years, that the imperial, the French, and the Engliſh ambaſſadors at Rome, were impowered to treat of that matter. But while they waſted their time in fruitleſs negociations, their maſters were continuing their preparations for war; and other negociations ſoon took place. The confederacy againſt France became more formidable than ever. A. D. 1522.

THE Venetians, who had hitherto adhered to the French intereſt, formed engagements with the emperor for ſecuring Francis Sforza in the poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan; and the pope, from a perſuaſion that the ambition of the French monarch was the only obſtacle to peace, acceded to the ſame alliance. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, with all the other Italian powers, followed this example. Francis was left without a ſingle ally to reſiſt the efforts of a multitude of enemies, whoſe armies every where threatened, and whoſe territories encompaſſed his dominions. The emperor in perſon, at the head of a Spaniſh army, menaced France on the ſide of Guienne; the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy, and a numer- A.D. 1523.

PART I. ous body of Germans was preparing to ravage Burgundy [15].

A. D. 1523. THE dread of ſo many and ſuch powerful adverſaries, it was thought would have obliged Francis to keep wholly on the defenſive, or at leaſt have prevented him from entertaining any thoughts of marching into Italy. But it was the peculiar characteriſtic of this prince, too apt to become negligent on ordinary occaſions, to rouſe at the approach of imminent danger, and not only to encounter it with ſpirit and intrepidity, but to provide againſt it with diligence and induſtry. Before his enemies were able to ſtrike a blow, Francis had aſſembled a powerful army, with which he hoped to diſconcert all the emperor's ſchemes, by leading it in perſon into Italy: and this bold meaſure could ſcarcely have failed of the deſired effect, had it been immediately carried into execution. But the diſcovery of a domeſtic conſpiracy, which threatened the deſtruction of his kingdom, obliged Francis to ſtop ſhort at Lyons.

CHARLES duke of Bourbon, high conſtable of France, was a prince of the moſt ſhining talents. His great abilities equally fitted him for the council or the field, while his eminent ſervices to the crown entitled him to its firſt favour. But unhappily Louiſa ducheſs of Angoulême, the king's mother, had contracted a violent averſion againſt the houſe of Bourbon, and had taught her ſon, over whom ſhe had acquired an abſolute aſcendant, to view all the conſtable's actions with a jealous eye. After repeated affronts he retired from court, and began to liſten to the advances of the em-

15. Guiciardini, lib. xv,

peror's

peror's miniſters. Meantime the ducheſs of Bourbon happened to die; and as the conſtable was no leſs handſome than accompliſhed, the ducheſs of Angoulême, ſtill ſuſceptible of the tender paſſions, formed the ſcheme of marrying him. But Bourbon, who might have expected every thing to which an ambitious mind can aſpire, from the doating fondneſs of a woman who governed her ſon and the kingdom, incapable of imitating Louiſa in her ſudden tranſition from love to hate, or of meanly counterfeiting a paſſion for one who had ſo long purſued him with unprovoked malice, treated the propoſal with diſdain, and even turned it into ridicule. At once refuſed and inſulted by the man whom love only could have made her ceaſe to perſecute, Louiſa was filled with all the rage of diſappointed woman: ſhe reſolved to ruin, ſince ſhe could not marry Bourbon. For this purpoſe ſhe commenced an iniquitous ſuit againſt him; and by the chicanery of chancellor Du Prat, the conſtable was ſtript of his whole family eſtate. Driven to deſpair by ſo many injuries, he had recourſe to meaſures which deſpair only could have dictated. He entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor and the king of England; and he propoſed, as ſoon as Francis ſhould have croſſed the Alps, to raiſe an inſurrection among his numerous vaſſals, and introduce foreign troops into the heart of France [15].

LETTER LVIII. A. D. 1523.

HAPPILY Francis got intimation of this conſpiracy before he left the kingdom. But not being ſufficiently convinced of the conſtable's guilt, he ſuffered ſo dangerous an enemy to eſcape; and Bourbon, entering into the emperor's ſervice, employed all the reſources of

15. Thuanus, lib. i. cap. ii. *Mem. de Bellay*, liv. ii.

PART I. A. D. 1523. his enterprising genius, and his military skill, to the prejudice of his sovereign and his native country. He took a severe revenge for all his wrongs.

In consequence of the discovery of this plot, and the escape of the powerful conspirator, Francis relinquished his intention of leading his army in person into Italy. He was ignorant how far the infection had spread among his subjects, and afraid that his absence might encourage them to make some desperate attempt in favour of a man so much beloved. He did not however abandon his design on the duchy of Milan; but sent forward, in order to subdue it, an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of admiral Bonnivet. Colonna, who was entrusted with the defence of that duchy, was in no condition to resist such a force; and the city of Milan, on which the whole territory depends, must have fallen into the hands of the French, had not Bonnivet, who possessed none of the talents of a general, wasted his time in frivolous enterprizes, till the inhabitants recovered from their consternation. The imperial army was reinforced. Colonna died, and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, succeeded him in the command. But the military ope-
A. D. 1524. rations were chiefly conducted by the duke of Bourbon and the marquis de Pescara, the two greatest generals of their age. Bonnivet, destitute of the talents necessary to oppose such able commanders, was reduced, after various movements and encounters, to the necessity of attempting a retreat into France. He was pursued by the imperial generals, and routed at Biagrassa.

Here fell the chevalier Bayard, whose contempt of the arts of courts prevented him from ever rising to the

the chief command, but who was always called, in times of real danger, to the poſts of difficulty and importance. Bonnivet being wounded, the conduct of the rear was committed to Bayard. He put himſelf at the head of the heavy armed cavalry, and animating them by his preſence and example, to ſuſtain the whole ſhock of the imperial army, he gained time for the body of his countrymen to make good their retreat. But in that ſervice he received a mortal wound; and being unable any longer to continue on horſeback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, where he calmly waited the approach of death. In this ſituation he was found by Bourbon, who led the van of the Imperialiſts, and expreſſed much ſorrow for his fate. "Pity not me!" cried the high-minded chevalier: "I die, as a man of honour "ought, in the diſcharge of my duty; but pity thoſe, "who fight againſt their king, their country, and "their oath [17].

LETTER LVIII. A. D. 1524.

THE emperor and his allies were leſs ſucceſsful in their operations on the frontiers of France. They were baffled on all ſides. And Francis, though ſtript of his Italian dominions, might ſtill have enjoyed in ſafety, the glory of having defended his native kingdom againſt one half of Europe, and have bid defiance to all his enemies, could he have moderated his military ardour. But underſtanding that the king of England, diſcouraged by his former fruitleſs enterprizes, and diſguſted with the emperor, was making no preparations for invading Picardy, his rage for the conqueſt of Milan returned; and he determined, notwithſtanding the approach of winter, to march into Italy.

17. *Mem. de Bellay*, ubi ſup. *Oeuvr. de Brantome*, tom. vi.

PART I. A. D. 1524. THE French army no ſooner appeared in Piedmont, than the whole duchy of Milan was thrown into conſternation. The capital opened its gates. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi; and had Francis been ſo fortunate as to purſue them, they muſt have abandoned that poſt, and been totally diſ-
Oct. 28. perſed. But his evil genius led him to beſiege Pavia, a town of conſiderable ſtrength, well garriſoned, and defended by Antonio de Leyva, one of the braveſt officers in the Spaniſh ſervice. Every thing known to the engineers of that age, or which could be effected by the valour of his troops, was attempted in vain by the French monarch againſt this important place, during a ſiege of three months. In the meantime, confident of ſucceſs, he had detached a conſiderable part of his army to invade the kingdom of Naples: and the main body was much waſted by the fatigues of the ſiege and the rigour of the ſeaſon. The imperial generals had not hitherto moleſted him, but they were not idle. Peſcara and Lannoy had aſſembled forces from all quarters; and Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, had gone into Germany, and levied at his own expence a body of twelve thouſand Lanſque-
A. D. 1525. Feb. 3. nets. The united army advanced to the relief of Pavia, now reduced to extremity for want of ammunition and proviſions. Prudence and the advice of his moſt experienced officers, dictated to Francis the propriety of a retreat; but his own romantic notions of honour, and the opinion of Bonnivet, unhappily determined him to keep his poſt. Having ſaid that he would take Pavia or periſh in the attempt, he thought it ignominious to depart from that reſolution: and he anxiouſly waited the approach of the enemy.

THE imperial generals found the French ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that they heſitated long before they ventured

tured to attack them. But the neceſſities of the beſieged, and the murmurs of their own troops, obliged them at laſt to put every thing to hazard. Never did armies engage with greater ardour, or with a higher opinion of the battle they were going to fight; never were men more ſtrongly animated with perſonal emulation, national antipathy, mutual reſentment, and all the paſſions which inſpire obſtinate bravery. The firſt efforts of the French valour made the firmeſt battalions of the Imperialiſts give ground; but the fortune of the day was ſoon changed. The Swiſs troops in the ſervice of France, unmindful of their national honour, ſhamefully deſerted their poſt. Peſcara fell upon the French cavalry with the imperial horſe, and broke that formidable body, by a mode of attack with which they were wholly unacquainted [18]; while Leyva ſallying out with his garriſon, during the heat of action, made a furious aſſault on the enemy's rear, and threw every thing into confuſion. The rout became general. But Francis himſelf, ſurrounded by a brave nobility, many of whom fell by his ſide, long ſuſtained the combat. His horſe being killed under him, he fought on foot, undiſtinguiſhed but by his valour, and killed ſeven men with his own hand. At laſt he was obſerved by Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had followed the fortunes of Bourbon, and who now ſaved the life of his ſovereign, ready to ſink beneath an enraged ſoldiery. By his perſuaſion Francis was prevailed upon to ſurrender; yet he obſtinately refuſed, imminent as the danger was, to deliver up his ſword to Bourbon. Lannoy

LETTER LVIII.

A. D. 1525. Feb. 24.

18. Peſcara had intermingled with the imperial horſe, a conſiderable number of Spaniſh foot, armed with the heavy muſkets then in uſe. Guicciardini, lib. xv.

PART I. A D. 1525.

received it. But Bourbon had the cruel ſatisfaction of exulting over his ſovereign's diſtreſs, and of repaying, from revenge, the inſults offered by jealouſy [19].

THIS victory, and the captivity of Francis, filled all Europe with alarm. Almoſt the whole French army was cut off: Milan was immediately abandoned; and in a few weeks, not a Frenchman was left in Italy. The power of the emperor, and ſtill more his ambition, became the object of univerſal terror: and reſolutions were every where taken to ſet bounds to it. Meanwhile Francis, deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of his misfortune, wrote to his mother Louiſa, whom he had left regent of the kingdom, the following ſhort but expreſſive letter: "All is loſt, but honour!"

THE ſame courier that delivered this letter, carried alſo diſpatches to Charles, who received the news of the ſignal and unexpected ſucceſs which had crowned his arms, with the moſt hypocritical moderation. He would not ſuffer any public rejoicings to be made on account of it; and ſaid, he only valued it, as it would prove the occaſion of reſtoring peace to Chriſtendom. Louiſa however did not truſt to thoſe appearances. Inſtead of giving herſelf up to ſuch lamentations as were natural to a woman remarkable for maternal tenderneſs, ſhe diſcovered all the foreſight, and exerted all the activity of a conſummate politician. She took every poſſible meaſure for putting the kingdom in a poſture of defence, while ſhe employed all her addreſs to appeaſe the reſentment and to gain the friendſhip of England [20]: and a ray of comfort from that quarter ſoon broke in upon the French affairs.

19. *Mem de Bellay.* Brantome. Guicciardini. 20. Ibid.

THOUGH

LETTER LVIII.

A. D. 1525.

THOUGH Henry VIII. had not entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, he had always retained some imperfect idea of that balance of power necessary to be maintained between Charles and Francis, the preservation of which he boasted was his peculiar office. By his alliance with the emperor, he hoped to recover some part of those territories on the continent which had belonged to his ancestors; and in that hope, he willingly contributed to give Charles the ascendency above his rival. But having never dreamt of any event so decisive and fatal as the victory at Pavia, which seemed not only to have broken, but to have annihilated the power of Francis, Henry now became sensible of his own danger, as well as of that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage of the distressed condition of France, the English monarch therefore determined to assist her in her present calamities. Other causes conspired to enforce this resolution.

THE elevation of the cardinal of Medicis to St. Peter's chair, on the death of Adrian VI. under the name of Clement VII. had made the English minister sensible of the insincerity of the emperor's promises, while it extinguished all his hopes of the papacy: and Wolsey resolved on revenge. His master too had ground of complaint. Charles had so ill supported the appearance of moderation which he assumed, when first informed of his good fortune, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself "your affectionate son and cousin," he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself "Charles." Influenced by all these considerations

PART I. A. D. 1525. derations, together with the glory of raiſing a fallen enemy, Henry liſtened to the flattering ſubmiſſions of Louiſa; entered into a defenſive alliance with her, as regent of France, and engaged to uſe his beſt offices in order to procure the deliverance of her ſon from a ſtate of captivity [21].

MEANWHILE Francis was rigorouſly confined; and hard conditions being propoſed to him, as the price of his liberty, he drew his dagger, and pointing it at his breaſt, cried "'Twere better that a king ſhould "die thus!" But flattering himſelf when he grew cool, that ſuch propoſitions could not come directly from Charles, he deſired that he might be removed to Spain, where the emperor then reſided. His requeſt was complied with; but he languiſhed long before he could obtain a ſight of his conqueror. At laſt he was favoured with a viſit; and the emperor dreading a general combination againſt him, or that Francis, if driven to deſpair, might as he threatened, reſign his crown to the Dauphin, agreed to abate ſome-
A. D. 1526. what of his former demands. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Madrid, in conſequence of which Francis obtained his liberty.—The chief article in this treaty was, that Burgundy ſhould be reſtored to Charles as the rightful inheritance of his anceſtors, and that Francis's two eldeſt ſons, ſhould be immediately delivered up as hoſtages for the performance of the conditions ſtipulated. The exchange of the captive monarch for his children, was made on the frontiers of France and Spain. And the moment that Francis entered his own dominions, he mounted a Turkiſh horſe, and putting it to its ſpeed, waved his

21. Herbert. Mezeray. *Mem. de Bellay.* Fiddes, *Life of Wolſey.*

hand,

hand, and cried aloud ſeveral times, "I am yet a king! I am yet a king[22]!" LETTER LVIII. A. D. 1526.

THE reputation of the French monarch, however, would have ſtood in a fairer light had he died a captive; for the unhappy ſituation of his affairs, delicate as his notions of honour appear to have been, led him henceforth to act a part very diſadvantageous to his moral character. He never meant to execute the treaty of Madrid: he had even left a proteſt in the hands of notaries, before he ſigned it, that his conſent ſhould be conſidered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void[23]. Accordingly, as ſoon as he arrived in France, he aſſembled the ſtates of Burgundy, who proteſted againſt the article relative to their province; and when the imperial ambaſſadors urged the immediate execution of the treaty, the king replied, that he would rigorouſly perform the articles relative to himſelf, but in thoſe affecting the French monarchy, he muſt be directed by the ſenſe of the nation. He made the higheſt acknowledgments to the king of England for his friendly interpoſition, and offered to be entirely guided by his counſels.

CHARLES and his miniſters now ſaw that they were over-reached, in thoſe very arts of negociation in which they ſo much excelled, while the Italian ſtates obſerved with pleaſure, that Francis was reſolved to evade the execution of a treaty, which they conſidered as dangerous to the liberties of Europe. Clement VII. abſolved him from the oath which he had taken at Madrid; and the kings of France and England, the Pope, the Swiſs, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Milaneſe, entered into an alliance, to which they

22. Guicciardini, lib. xvi. 23. *Recueil de Traitez*, tom. ii.

gave

PART I. A.D. 1526. gave the name of the Holy League, becauſe his Holineſs was at the head of it, in order to oblige the emperor to deliver up Francis's two ſons on the payment of a reaſonable ranſom, and to re-eſtabliſh Sforza in the quiet poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan [23].

In conſequence of this league, the confederate army took the field, and Italy became once more the ſcene of war. But Francis, who it was expected would infuſe ſpirit and vigour into the whole body, had gone through ſuch a ſcene of diſtreſs, that he was become diffident of his talents, and diſtruſtful of his fortune. He had flattered himſelf, that the dread alone of ſuch a confederacy would induce Charles to liſten to what was equitable, and therefore neglected to ſend ſufficient reinforcements to his allies in Italy. Meantime the duke of Bourbon, who commanded the Imperialiſts, over-ran the whole duchy of Milan, of which the emperor had promiſed him the inveſtiture; and his troops beginning to mutiny for want of pay,
A.D. 1527. he boldly led them to Rome, in ſpite of every obſtacle, by offering to their avidity the rich ſpoils of that ancient capital. Nor did he deceive them: for although he himſelf was ſlain, while encouraging their efforts by his brave example, in planting with his own hands a ſcaling ladder againſt the walls, they, more enraged than diſcouraged by that misfortune, mounted to the aſſault with the greateſt ardour; and, entering the city ſword in hand, pillaged it for many days, and made it a ſcene of horrid carnage and abominable luſt.

Never did Rome experience in any age ſo many calamities, not even from the Barbarians, by whom

23. Goldaſt. *Polit. Imperial.*

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she was successively subdued—from the followers of Alaric, Genseric, or Odoacer, as now from the subjects of a Christian and Catholic monarch. Whatever was respectable modesty or sacred in religion, seemed only the more to provoke the ra[illegible] of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in th[illegible]rms of their mothers, and upon those altars to wh[illegible]ey had fled for safety. Venerable prelates, after being exposed to every indignity, not excepting the abuse of unnatural desire, and enduring every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the most cruel deaths, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures. Clement himself, who had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, was obliged to surrender at discretion; and found that his sacred character could neither procure him liberty nor respect. He was doomed to close confinement, until he should pay an enormous ransom, imposed by the victorious army, and surrender to the emperor all the places of strength belonging the apostolic see[24].

LETTER LVIII. A. D. 1527.

CHARLES received the news of this extraordinary event with equal surprize and pleasure; but in order to conceal his joy from his Spanish subjects, who were filled with horror at the insult offered to the sovereign pontiff, and to lessen the indignation of the other powers of Europe, he expressed the deepest sorrow for the success of his arms. He put himself and his whole court into mourning; stopped the rejoic-

24. Jov. *Vit. Colon.* Guicciardini, lib. xviii. *Mem. de Bellay.* Eight thousand young women, of all ranks, were found to be pregnant, within five months after the taking of Rome (ibid.); a circumstance not a little curious in itself, and which certain sportive writers have considered as a proof, by no means equivocal, that the Roman ladies reciprocated the transports of the rapacious and blood thirsty, but brawny followers of Bourbon.

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PART I. A. D. 1527.

ings for the birth of his ſon Philip, and ordered prayers to be put up in all the churches of Spain for the liberation of the pope, which he could immediately have procured by a letter to his generals [25]!

THE compaſſion expreſſed by Henry and Francis, for the calamities of their ally, was more ſincere. Alarmed at the progreſs of the Imperial arms, they had, even before the ſacking of Rome, entered into a cloſer alliance, and propoſed to invade the Low Countries with a powerful army; but no ſooner did they hear of Clement's captivity than they changed, by a new treaty, the ſcene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy, and reſolved to take the moſt vigorous meaſures for reſtoring his Holineſs to liberty. Henry, however, contributed only money. A French army croſſed the Alps, under the command of Marſhal Lautrec; Clement obtained his freedom; and war was, for a time, carried on by the confederates with ſucceſs.

A. D. 1528. But the death of Lautrec, and the revolt of Andrew Doria, a celebrated Genoeſe admiral, at that time in the ſervice of France, totally changed the face of affairs. He obliged the French garriſon in Genoa to ſurrender, and reſtored the liberties of his country. The French army was utterly ruined before Naples; and Francis diſcouraged, and almoſt exhauſted by ſo many unſucceſsful enterprizes, began at length to think of peace, and of obtaining the releaſe of his ſons by conceſſions, inſtead of the terror of his arms.

AT the ſame time Charles, notwithſtanding the advantages he had gained, had many reaſons to wiſh for an accommodation. Solyman the Magnificent, having over-run Hungary, was ready to break in upon

25. Muroc. *Hiſt. Venet.* lib. iii.

the Auſtrian territories with the whole force of the Ottoman empire; and the progreſs of the Reformation in Germany, threatened the tranquillity of that country. In conſequence of this ſituation of affairs, while pride made both parties conceal or diſſemble their real ſentiments, two ladies were permitted to reſtore peace to Europe. Margaret of Auſtria, Charles's aunt, and Louiſa, Francis's mother, met at Cambray, and ſettled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Francis agreed to pay two millions of crowns, as the ranſom of his two ſons; to reſign the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and forego all his Italian claims; and Charles ceaſed to demand the reſtitution of Burgundy [26]. LETTER LVIII. A.D. 15 A.D. 1529.

ALL the ſteps of this negociation had been communicated to the king of England; and Henry was, on that occaſion, ſo generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he ſent him an acquittal of near ſix hundred thouſand crowns, in order to enable him to fulfil his agreement with Charles. But Francis's Italian confederates were leſs ſatisfied with the treaty of Cambray. They were almoſt wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor, and ſeemed to have no other means of ſecurity left but his equity and moderation. Of theſe, from his paſt conduct, they had not formed the moſt advantageous idea. But Charles's preſent circumſtances, more eſpecially in regard to the Turks, obliged him to behave with a generoſity inconſiſtent with his character. The Florentines alone, whom he reduced under the dominion of the family of Medicis, had reaſon to complain of his ſeverity. Sforza ob-

26. Sondov. *Hiſt. del Emp. Carl. V.* Robertſon, book v.

tained

PART I. tained the inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan and his pardon: and every other power experienced the lenity of the victor.

CHARLES, who during this full tide of his for-
A D. 1530. tune, having quieted all the diſcontents in Spain, had appeared in Italy with the pomp and power of a conqueror, and received the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope, now prepared to reviſit Germany, where his preſence was become highly neceſſary; for although the conduct and valour of his brother Ferdinand, on whom he had conferred the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, and who had been elected king of Hungary, had obliged Solyman to withdraw his forces, his return was to be feared, and the diſorders of religion were daily increaſing. But theſe diſorders, and the future exploits of the emperor, muſt form the ſubject of another Letter.

LETTER

LETTER LIX.

The general View of the Affairs of EUROPE, *and of the Progreſs of the* REFORMATION *on the Continent, continued from the Peace of* CAMBRAY *to the* CREPY, *in* 1544.

THE Reformation, my dear Philip, had gained much ground in Germany, during that long interval of tranquillity, which the abſence of the emperor, the conteſts between him and the pope, and his attention to the war with France, afforded its promoters. Moſt of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions, had not only eſtabliſhed in their territories that form of worſhip which he approved, but had entirely ſuppreſſed the rites of the Romiſh church. Many of the free-cities had imitated their conduct. Almoſt one half of the Germanic body had revolted from the papal ſee; and its dominion, even in that part which had not yet ſhaken off the yoke of Rome, was conſiderably weakened by the example of the neighbouring ſtates, or by the ſecret progreſs of thoſe doctrines which had undermined it among them. LETTER LIX.

WHATEVER ſatisfaction the emperor, while at open enmity with the pope, might have felt in thoſe events which tended to mortify and embarraſs his Holineſs, he was at the ſame time ſenſible, that the religious diviſions in Germany would, in the end, prove hurtful to the imperial authority. Accordingly, the proſpect of an accommodation with Clement, no ſooner opened, than Charles appointed a diet of the empire to be held at Spire, in order to take into conſideration the ſtate of religion. The diet, after much diſpute, iſſued a decree confirming the edict publiſhed againſt A. D. 1529.

PART I. A. D. 1529. Luther at Worms, and prohibiting any farther innovations in religion, but particularly the abolition of the maſs, before the meeting of a general council. Againſt this decree, as unjuſt and impious, the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Heſſe, the duke of Lunenburg, the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial or free cities, entered a ſolemn proteſt. On that account they were called PROTESTANTS; an appellation which has ſince become common to all the ſects, of whatever denomination, that have revolted from the church of Rome.

SUCH was the ſtate of religious matters when Charles returned to Germany. He aſſiſted in perſon at the diet of Augſburg; where the Proteſtants preſented their ſyſtem of opinions, compoſed by Melanc-
A. D. 1530. thon, the moſt learned and moderate of all the reformers. This ſyſtem, known by the name of the *Confeſſion of Augſburg*, from the place where it was preſented, was publicly read in the diet. Some popiſh divines were appointed to examine it; they brought in their animadverſions: a diſpute enſued between them and Melancthon, ſeconded by ſome of his diſciples; and, as in moſt caſes of that kind, nothing was determined. Every one remained in his own way of thinking. From the Proteſtant divines, Charles turned to the princes their patrons, but with no better ſucceſs: they refuſed to abandon what they deemed the cauſe of God, for any earthly advantage. Coercive meaſures were reſolved upon. A decree was iſſued condemning moſt of the peculiar tenets held by the Proteſtants, and prohibiting any one to tolerate thoſe who taught them.

1. Sleidan, Father Paul, Seckend.

IN

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In consequence of this decree, which they considered as a prelude to the most violent persecution, the protestant princes assembled at Smalkalde, and concluded a league of mutual defence; and the emperor's ambition, which led him to get his brother elected king of the Romans, in order to continue the imperial crown in his family, furnished the confederates with a decent pretence for courting the alliance of foreign princes. A. D. 1531. The kings of France and England secretly agreed to support them. Meanwhile many circumstances and reflections convinced Charles, that this was not a proper season to attempt the extirpation of heresy by the sword. He saw Solyman ready to enter Hungary, with the whole force of the Turkish empire, in order to wipe off the disgrace which his arms had sustained in the former campaign: he felt the necessity of union, not only for the accomplishment of his future schemes, but for ascertaining his present safety. The peace with France was precarious; and he was afraid that the followers of Luther, if treated with severity, might forget that they were Christians, and join the infidels. Policy made him drop the mask of zeal. By a treaty concluded at Nuremburg, and solemnly A. D. 1532. ratified in the diet at Ratisbon, the emperor granted the Protestants liberty of conscience until the meeting of a general council; and they agreed, on their part, to assist him powerfully against the Turks [2].

This treaty was no sooner signed, than Charles received information, that Solyman had entered Hungary, at the head of three hundred thousand men. The imperial army, consisting of ninety thousand disciplined foot, and thirty thousand horse, besides a prodigious swarm of irregulars, immediately assembled

2. Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. iv.

PART I. A. D. 1533.

in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Of this vaſt body the emperor, for the firſt time, took the command in perſon: and Europe waited, in anxious ſuſpenſe, the iſſue of a deciſive battle between the two greateſt potentates in the univerſe. But each dreading the other's power and good fortune, both conducted their operations with ſo much caution, that a campaign, from which the moſt important conſequences had been expected, was cloſed without any memorable event. Solyman finding it impoſſible to take advantage of an enemy always on his guard, marched back to Conſtantinople; and Charles, freed from ſo dangerous an invader, ſet out for Spain [3].

DURING the emperor's abſence, great diſorders prevailed in Germany, occaſioned by the fanaticiſm of a ſect of reformers diſtinguiſhed by the name of Anabaptiſts; becauſe they contended, that the ſacrament of baptiſm ſhould be adminiſtered only to perſons grown up to years of underſtanding, and ſhould be performed not by ſprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it. This tenet was at leaſt harmleſs; but they held others of a more enthuſiaſtic, as well as dangerous nature. They maintained, That, among Chriſtians, who have the precepts of the Goſpel to direct, and the ſpirit of God to guide them, the office of magiſtrate is unneceſſary, and an encroachment on ſpiritual liberty; that all diſtinctions of birth or rank ought to be aboliſhed; that a community of goods ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and that every man may lawfully marry as many wives as he thinks proper.

TENETS ſo flattering to human weakneſs and human pride, naturally produced a number of converts,

3. Sandov. *Hiſt. del Emp. Carl. V.* vol. ii. Robertſon, book v.

eſpecially

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eſpecially among the lower claſs of people. The peaſants gredily embraced opinions which promiſed to place them on a level with their imperious maſters. They aſſembled in great bodies, and ſpread devaſtation wherever they came. But being deſtitute of a ſkilful leader, they were ſoon diſperſed; and Muncer, the firſt Anabaptiſt prophet, periſhed on a ſcaffold at Mulhauſen in 1525. Several of his followers, however, lurked in different places, and ſecretly propagated the opinions of their ſect. At laſt two Anabaptiſt prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Harlem, and John Bocold, a journeyman taylor of Leyden, poſſeſſed with the rage of making proſelytes, fixed A. D. 1533. their reſidence at Munſter, an imperial city in Weſtphalia; and privately aſſembling their aſſociates, from the neighbouring country, made themſelves maſters of the town, and expelled the inhabitants.

HERE the Anabaptiſts formed a ſingular kind of A. D. 1534. republic, over which Matthias aſſumed abſolute authority, and wrote to his brethren in the Low Countries inviting them to aſſemble at Mount-Sion, ſo he termed Munſter, that they might thence ſet out in a body to reduce all nations under their dominion. Meanwhile the biſhop of Munſter having aſſembled a conſiderable army, advanced to beſiege the town. On his approach, Matthias ſallied out, at the head of a choſen band; forced his camp, and returned to the city loaded with glory and ſpoil. But his ſucceſs proved fatal to him. Thinking nothing now impoſſible for the favourites of Heaven, he went out to meet the enemy, accompanied by no more than thirty of his followers; boaſting, that, like Gideon, he would ſmite the hoſt of the ungodly with a handful of

PART I. men. The prophet and his thirty aſſociates were ſlain.
A. D. 1534.

THE Anabaptiſts, however, did not deſpair: John of Leyden, their other light, ſtill remained. This man, leſs bold, but more ambitious than Matthias, aſſumed the title of king; and being young, and of a complexion equally amorous and enthuſiaſtic, he exerciſed in their utmoſt latitude, thoſe principles of his ſect, which favoured ſenſual gratification. He took, in a ſhort time, no leſs than fourteen wives. His example was followed by his brethren: no man remained ſatisfied with a ſingle wife. The houſes were ſearched; and young women grown up to maturity were inſtantly ſeized, and compelled to marry. Notwithſtanding this ſenſuality, Munſter made a gallant defence; but the biſhop's army being reinforced, and the beſieged greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, one of their own body deſerted, and betrayed them.
A. D. 1535. The city was taken by ſurprize: moſt of the Anabaptiſts were ſlain; and their king was made priſoner, and put to death by the moſt exquiſite and lingering tortures, all which he bore with aſtoniſhing fortitude 4. So wonderful are the effects of enthuſiaſm in communicating courage, even to minds naturally the moſt timid and feeble! and ſo difficult is it, in ſuch caſes, to diſtinguiſh between the martyr and the viſionary!

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in Germany, Charles undertook his firſt expedition againſt the Piratical States of Africa. Barbary, or that part of the African continent which lies along the coaſt of the

4. Ant. Lamb. Hortenſ. *Tumult. Anabaptiſt.* Jo. Bapt. Ottii, *Annal. Anabaptiſt.* Moſheim. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iv.

Medi-

Mediterranean ſea, was then nearly in the ſame condition it is at preſent. Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis were its principal governments; and the two laſt were neſts of pirates. Barbaroſſa, a famous corſair, had ſucceeded his brother in the kingdom of Algiers, which he formerly aſſiſted him to uſurp. He regulated with much prudence the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his piracies with great vigour, and extended his conqueſts on the continent of Africa; but perceiving that the natives ſubmitted to his government with impatience, and fearing that his continual depredations might draw upon him a general combination of the Chriſtian powers, he put his dominions under the protection of the Turkiſh emperor Solyman, flattered by ſuch an act of ſubmiſſion, and charmed with the boldneſs of the man, offered him the command of the Ottoman fleet. Proud of this diſtinction, Barbaroſſa repaired to Conſtantinople, and made uſe of his influence with the ſultan to extend his own dominions. Partly by force, partly by treachery, he uſurped the kingdom of Tunis; and being now poſſeſſed of greater power, he carried on his depredations againſt the Chriſtian ſtates with more deſtructive violence than ever.

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A. D. 1535.

DAILY complaints of the piracies and ravages committed by the gallies of Barbaroſſa were brought to the emperor by his ſubjects, both in Spain and Italy; and all Chriſtendom ſeemed to look up to Charles, as its greateſt and moſt fortunate prince, for relief from this new and odious ſpecies of oppreſſion. At the ſame time Muley-Haſcen, the exiled king of Tunis, finding none of the African princes able or willing to ſupport him in recovering his throne, applied to the victorious Charles for aſſiſtance againſt the uſurper.

PART I. A.D. 1535.

Equally desirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbarossa, of appearing as the protector of an *unfortunate prince*, and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age to every expedition against the Mahometans, the emperor readily concluded a treaty with Muley Hascen, and set sail for Tunis with a formidable armament.

The Goletta, a strong fortress on an island in the bay of Tunis, and the key of the capital, planted with three hundred pieces of cannon, was taken by storm, together with all Barbarossa's fleet. He was defeated in a pitched battle; and ten thousand Christian slaves, having knocked off their fetters, and made themselves masters of the citadel, Tunis offered to surrender at discretion. But while Charles was deliberating on the means of preserving the lives of the inhabitants, his troops, fearing that they would be deprived of the booty which they had expected, broke suddenly into the town, and pillaged and massacred without distinction. Thirty thousand persons perished by the sword, and ten thousand were made prisoners. The sceptre, drenched in blood, was restored to Muley Hascen, on condition that he should acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Spain, put into the emperor's hands all the fortified sea-ports in the kingdom of Tunis, and pay annually twelve thousand crowns for the subsistence of a Spanish garrison in the Goletta. These points being settled, and twenty thousand Christian slaves freed from bondage, either by arms or by treaty, Charles returned to Europe, where his presence was become necessary; while Barbarossa, who had retired to Bona, recovered new strength, and again became the tyrant of the ocean [5].

5. Sandov. vol. ii. Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* book v.

THE

LETTER LIX.

A. D. 1535.

THE king of France took advantage of the emperor's abſence, to revive his claims in Italy. The treaty of Cambray had covered up, but not extinguiſhed the flames of diſcord. Francis in particular, who waited only for a favourable opportunity of recovering the territories and reputation which he had loſt, continued to negociate againſt his rival with different courts. But all his negociations were diſconcerted by unforeſeen accidents. The death of Clement VII. (whom he had gained by marrying his ſon, the duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II. to Catharine of Medicis, the niece of that pontiff) deprived him of all the ſupport which he hoped to receive from the court of Rome. The king of England, occupied with domeſtic cares and projects, declined engaging in the affairs of the continent; and the Proteſtant princes, aſſociated by the league of Smalkalde, to whom alſo Francis had applied, and who ſeemed at firſt diſpoſed to liſten to him, filled with indignation and reſentment at the cruelty with which ſome of their reformed brethren had been treated in France, refuſed to have any connection with the enemy of their religion.

THE particulars of this perſecution it will be proper to relate, as they ſerve to illuſtrate the manners of the times. Francis was neither cruel nor bigotted. His levity and love of pleaſure allowed him little leiſure to concern himſelf about religious diſputes; but his principles becoming ſuſpected, at a time when the emperor was gaining immortal glory by his expedition againſt the Infidels, he found it neceſſary to vindicate himſelf by ſome extraordinary demonſtration of reverence for the eſtabliſhed faith. The indiſcreet zeal of ſome Proteſtant converts furniſhed him with the

PART I. A.D. 1535.

the occaſion. They had affixed to the gates of the Louvre, and other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the rites of the Romiſh church. Six of the perſons concerned in this raſh action, were ſeized; and the king, pretending to be ſtruck with horror at their blaſphemies, appointed a ſolemn proceſſion, in order to avert the wrath of Heaven. The Hoſt was carried through the city of Paris in great pomp: Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand; the princes of the blood ſupported the canopy over it; the nobles walked behind. In preſence of this numerous aſſembly, the king declared, that if one of his hands were infected with hereſy, he would cut it off with the other: "and I would ſacrifice" added he, "even my own "children, if found guilty of that crime." As an awful proof of his ſincerity, the ſix unhappy perſons who had been ſeized, were publicly burnt, before the [illegible] was finiſhed, and in the moſt cruel manner. They were fixed upon a machine which deſcended into the flames, and retired alternately, until they expired [6].—Little wonder that the Proteſtant princes were incenſed at ſuch barbarity.

But Francis, though unſupported by any ally, commanded his army to advance toward the frontiers of Italy, under pretence of chaſtiſing the duke of Milan for a breach of the law of nations, in putting to death his ambaſſador. The operations of war, however, ſoon took a new direction. Inſtead of marching directly into the duchy of Milan, Francis commenced hoſtilities againſt the duke of Savoy, with whom he had cauſe to be diſſatisfied, and on whom he had ſome

6. Belcarii, *Comment. Rer. Gallic.* Sleid. *Hiſt. Reformat.*

claims;

claims; and before the end of the campaign, that feeble prince ſaw himſelf ſtripped of all his dominions, except the province of Piedmont. To complete his misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the ſovereignty of which he claimed, and where the reformed religion was already eſtabliſhed, threw off his yoke: and its revolt drew along with it the loſs of the adjacent territory. Geneva was then an Imperial city, and now became the capital of an independent republic.

In this extremity, the duke of Savoy ſaw no reſource, but in the emperor's protection; and as his misfortunes were chiefly occaſioned by his attachment to the imperial intereſt, he had a title to immediate aſſiſtance. But Charles, who was juſt returned from his African expedition, was not able to lend him the neceſſary ſupport. His treaſury was entirely drained, and he was obliged to diſband his army, until he could raiſe new ſupplies. So waſting is the continued practice, even of ſucceſsful war, to the moſt opulent princes and ſtates!

Meantime the death of Sforza duke of Milan, totally changed the nature of the war, and afforded the emperor full leiſure to prepare for action. The French monarch's pretext for taking up arms was at once cut off; but as the duke had died without iſſue, all Francis's rights to the duchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his deſcendants, returned to him in full force. He accordingly renewed his claim to it: and if he had ordered his army immediately to advance, he might have made himſelf maſter of it. But he unfortunately waſted his time in fruitleſs negociations, while his more politic rival took poſſeſſion of the long diſputed territory, as a vacant fief of the empire.

PART I. empire. And although Charles ſeemed ſtill to admit the equity of Francis's claim, he delayed granting the inveſtiture under various pretences, and was ſecretly taking every poſſible meaſure to prevent his recovering footing in Italy.

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DURING the time gained in this manner, Charles had recruited his finances, and of courſe his armies; and finding himſelf in a condition for war, he at laſt threw off the maſk, under which he had ſo long concealed his deſigns from the court of France. Entering Rome with great pomp, he pronounced before the pope and cardinals aſſembled in full conſiſtory, a violent invective againſt Francis, by way of reply to his propoſitions concerning the inveſtiture of Milan. Yet Francis, by an unaccountable fatality, continued to negociate, as if it had ſtill been poſſible to terminate their differences in an amicable manner; and Charles, finding him ſo eager to run into the ſnare, favoured the deception, and by ſeeming to liſten to his propoſals, gained yet more time for the execution of his own ambitious projects [7].

A.D. 1536.

IF misfortune had rendered Francis too diffident, ſucceſs had made Charles too confident. He preſumed on nothing leſs than the ſubverſion of the French monarchy; nay, he conſidered it as an infallible event. Having chaſed the forces of his rival out of Piedmont and Savoy, he puſhed forward at the head of fifty-thouſand men, contrary to the advice of his moſt experienced miniſters and generals, to invade the ſouthern provinces of France; while two other armies were ordered to enter that kingdom, the one on the ſide of Picardy, the other on the ſide of Champagne. He

7. *Mem. de Bellay.*

thought it impoſſible that Francis could reſiſt ſo many unexpected attacks, on ſuch different quarters; but he found himſelf miſtaken.

THE French monarch fixed upon the moſt effectual plan for defeating the invaſion of a powerful enemy: and he prudently perſevered in following it, though contrary to his own natural temper, and to the genius of his people. He determined to remain altogether upon the defenſive, and to deprive the enemy of ſubſiſtence, by laying waſte the country before them. The execution of this plan was committed to the mareſchal de Montmorency, its author, a man happily fitted for ſuch a ſervice, by the inflexible ſeverity of his diſpoſition. He made choice of a ſtrong camp, under the walls of Avignon, at the confluence of the Rhone and Durance, where he aſſembled a conſiderable army; while the king, with another body of troops, encamped at Valence, higher up the Rhone. Marſeilles, and Arles were the only towns he thought it neceſſary to defend, and each of theſe he furniſhed with a numerous garriſon of his beſt troops. The inhabitants of the other towns were compelled to abandon their habitations; the fortifications of ſuch places as might have afforded ſhelter to the enemy, were thrown down; corn, forage, and proviſions of every kind were carried off or deſtroyed; the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled up or rendered uſeleſs.

THIS devaſtation extended from the Alps to Marſeilles, and from the ſea to the confines of Dauphiny; ſo that the emperor, when he arrived with the van of his army on the confines of Provence, inſtead of that rich and populous country which he expected to enter, beheld nothing but one vaſt and deſert ſolitude.

He

PART I. A. D. 1536.

He did not, however, deſpair of ſucceſs, though he ſaw that he would have many difficulties to encounter; and, as an encouragement to his officers, he made them liberal promiſes of lands and honours in France. But all the land which any of them obtained was a grave, and their maſter loſt much honour by this raſh and preſumptuous enterprize. After unſucceſsfully inveſting Marſeilles and Arles; after attempting in vain to draw Montmorency from his camp at Avignon, and not daring to attack it, Charles having ſpent two inglorious months in Provence, and loſt one half of his troops by famine or diſeaſe, was under the neceſſity of ordering a retreat; and although he was ſome time in motion before the enemy ſuſpected his intention, his retreat was conducted with ſo much precipitation and diſorder, as to deſerve the name of a flight, the light troops of France having turned his march into a perfect rout. The invaſion of Picardy was not more effectual: the Imperial forces were obliged to retire without effecting any conqueſt of importance[8].

CHARLES had no ſooner conducted the ſhattered remains of his army to the frontiers of Milan, than he ſet out for Genoa; and, unwilling to expoſe himſelf to the ſcorn of the Italians, after ſuch a reverſe of fortune, he embarked directly for Spain[9].

MEANWHILE Francis gave himſelf up to that vain reſentment, which had formerly diſgraced the proſperity of his rival. They had frequently, in the courſe of their quarrels, given each other the lie, and mutual challenges had been ſent; which, though productive of no ſerious conſequences between the par-

8. *Sandov. Hiſt. del Emp. Carl. V.* Robertſon, book vi. ibid.

9. Id.

ties,

ties, had a powerful tendency to encourage the pernicious practice of duelling. Charles in his invective pronounced at Rome, had publicly accuſed Francis of perfidy, and breach of faith: Francis now exceeded Charles in the indecency of his accuſations. The Dauphin dying ſuddenly, his death was imputed to poiſon: Montecuculi, his cup-bearer, was put to the rack; and that unhappy nobleman, in the agonies of torture, accuſed the emperor's generals, Gonzaga and de Leyva, of inſtigating him to the deteſtable act. The emperor himſelf was ſuſpected; nay, this extorted confeſſion, and ſome obſcure hints, were conſidered as inconteſtible proofs of his guilt; though it was evident to all mankind; that neither Charles nor his generals could have any inducement to perpetrate ſuch a crime, as Francis was ſtill in the vigour of life himſelf, and had two ſons beſides the Dauphin [10].

LETTER LIX.

A. D. 1537.

But the incenſed monarch's reſentment did not ſtop here. Francis was not ſatisfied with endeavouring to blacken the character of his rival by an ambiguous teſtimony, which led to the moſt injurious ſuſpicions, and upon which the moſt cruel conſtructions had been put: he was willing to add rebellion to murder. For this purpoſe, he went to the parliament of Paris; where being ſeated with the uſual ſolemnities, the advocate-general appeared, and accuſed Charles of Auſtria (ſo he affected to call the emperor) of having violated the treaty of Cambray, by which he was freed from the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Artois and Flanders; adding, that this treaty being now void, he was ſtill to be conſidered

10. Sandov. ubi ſup.

as

PART I. A.D. 1537. as a vaſſal of France, and conſequently had been guilty of rebellion, in taking arms againſt his ſovereign. The charge was ſuſtained by the court, and Charles was ſummoned to appear before the parliament of Paris at a day fixed. The term expired; and no perſon appearing in the emperor's name, the parliament gave judgment, That Charles of Auſtria had forfeited by rebellion and contumacy, the counties of Flanders and Artois, and declared theſe fiefs reunited to the crown of France [11].

FRANCIS ſoon after this vain diſplay of his animoſity, marched into the Low Countries, as if he had intended to execute the ſentence pronounced by his parliament. But a ſuſpenſion of arms took place, through the interpoſition of the queens of France and Hungary, before any thing of conſequence was effected: and this ceſſation of hoſtilities was followed A.D. 1538. by a truce, concluded at Nice, through the mediation of the reigning pontiff Paul III. of the family of Farneſe, a man of a venerable character and pacific diſpoſition.

EACH of theſe rival princes had ſtrong reaſons to incline them to peace. The finances of both were exhauſted; and the emperor, the moſt powerful of the two, was deeply impreſſed with the dread of the Turkiſh arms, which Francis had drawn upon him by a league with Solyman. In conſequence of this league, Barbaroſſa, with a great fleet, appeared on the coaſt of Naples; filled that kingdom with conſternation; landed without reſiſtance near Taranto; obliged Caſtro, a place of ſome ſtrength, to ſurrender; plundered the adjacent country, and was taking meaſures for

11. *Mem. de Ribier.*

ſecuring

LETTER LIX.

A.D. 1538.

ſecuring and extending his conqueſts, when the unexpected arrival of Doria, the famous Genoeſe admiral, together with the pope's gallies and a ſquadron of the Venetian fleet, made it prudent for him to retire. The ſultan's forces alſo invaded Hungary, where the Turkiſh general, after gaining ſeveral inferior advantages, defeated the Germans in a great battle at Eſſek on the Drave.

HAPPILY for Charles and for Europe, it was not in Francis's power, at this juncture, either to join the Turks, or to aſſemble an army ſtrong enough to penetrate into the duchy of Milan. The emperor however was ſenſible, that he could not long reſiſt the efforts of two ſuch powerful confederates, nor expect that the ſame fortunate circumſtances would concur a ſecond time in his favour. He therefore thought it neceſſary, both for his ſafety and reputation, to give his conſent to a truce: and Francis choſe rather to run the riſk of diſobliging his new ally the ſultan, than to draw on his head the indignation and perhaps the arms of all Chriſtendom, by obſtinately obſtructing the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity, and contributing to the aggrandiſement of the Infidels [12].

THESE conſiderations inclined the contending monarchs to liſten to the arguments of the pope: but his Holineſs found it impoſſible to bring about a final accommodation between them, each inflexibly perſiſting in aſſerting his own claims. Nor could he prevail on them to ſee one another, though both came to the place of rendezvous; ſo great were the remains of diſtruſt and rancour, or ſuch the difficulty of adjuſting

12. Jovii. *Hiſt.* lib. xxxv.

PART I. A. D. 1538.

the ceremonial! Yet, improbable as it may ſeem, a few days after ſigning the truce, the emperor, in his paſſage to Barcelona, being driven on the coaſt of Provence, Francis invited him to come a-ſhore; frankly viſited him on board his galley, and was received and entertained with the warmeſt demonſtrations of eſteem and affection. Charles with an equal degree of confidence, paid the king next day a viſit at Aigues-mortes; where theſe two hoſtile rivals, and vindictive enemies, who had accuſed one another of every kind of baſeneſs, converſing together with all the cordiality of brothers, ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of reſpect and friendſhip [13]. !—Such ſudden tranſitions from enmity to affection, and from ſuſpicion to confidence, can only be accounted for from that ſpirit of chivalry, with which the manners of both princes were ſtrongly tinctured.

BESIDES the glory of having reſtored tranquillity to Europe, Paul III. ſecured a point of much conſequence to his family. He obtained in marriage, for his grandſon, Margaret of Auſtria, the emperor's natural daughter, formerly wife to Alexander of Medicis, whom Charles had raiſed to the ſupreme power in Florence. Lorenzo of Medicis, the kinſman and intimate companion of Alexander, had aſſaſſinated him by one of the blackeſt treaſons recorded in hiſtory. Under pretence of having ſecured him an aſſignation with a lady of great beauty, and of the higheſt rank, he drew him into a ſecret apartment of his palace, and there ſtabbed him, as he lay careleſsly on a couch, expecting the preſence of the lovely fair, whom he had often ſolicited in vain. Lorenzo, however, did not reap the fruits of his

13. Sandov. *Hiſt. del. Emp. Carl. V.*

crime; for although ſome of his countrymen extolled him as a third Brutus, and endeavoured to ſeize this occaſion for recovering their liberties, the government of Florence paſſed into the hands of Coſmo II. another kinſman of Alexander [14]. Coſmo was deſirous of marrying the widow of his predeceſſor; but the emperor choſe rather to oblige the pope, by beſtowing his daughter upon Octavio Farneſe, ſon of the duke of Parma, and grandſon of his Holineſs. A. D. 1538.

CHARLES had ſoon farther cauſe to be ſenſible of his obligations to Paul III. for negociating the truce of Nice. His troops, every where, mutinied for want of pay, and the ability of his generals, only could have prevented a total revolt. He had depended upon the ſubſidies which he expected from his Caſtilian ſubjects for diſcharging the arrears of his army. He accordingly aſſembled the Cortes of Caſtile at Toledo; and having repreſented to them the great expence of his military operations, he propoſed to levy ſuch ſupplies as the preſent exigency of his affairs demanded, by a general exciſe on commodities. But the Spaniards, who already felt themſelves oppreſſed with a load of taxes unknown to their anceſtors, and who had often complained, that their country was drained of its wealth and inhabitants, in order to proſecute quarrels in which they had no intereſt, determined not to add voluntarily to their own burthens. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence againſt the meaſure propoſed; as it would encroach on the moſt valuable and diſtinguiſhed privilege of their order, that of being exempted from the payment of any tax. After employing arguments and A. D. 1539.

14. *Lett. di Princip.*

PART I. A. D. 1539.

promiſes in vain, Charles therefore diſmiſſed the aſſembly with indignation: and from that period neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to the Cortes, on pretence that ſuch as pay no part of the public taxes, ſhould not claim a vote in laying them on. Theſe aſſemblies have ſince conſiſted merely of the procurators or repreſentatives of eighteen cities, two from each; in all thirty-ſix members, who are abſolutely at the devotion of the crown [15].

THE citizens of Ghent, ſtill more bold, broke out not long after into open rebellion againſt the emperor's government, on account of a tax which they judged contrary to their ancient privileges, and a deciſion of the council of Mechlin in favour of the imperial authority. Enraged at an unjuſt impoſition, and rendered deſperate on ſeeing their rights betrayed by that very court which was bound to protect them, they flew to arms; ſeized ſeveral of the emperor's officers, and drove ſuch of the nobility as reſided among them out of the city. Senſible, however, of their inability to ſupport what their zeal had prompted them to undertake, and deſirous of ſecuring a protector againſt the formidable forces with which they might expect ſoon to be attacked, they offered to acknowledge the king of France as their ſovereign; to put him into immediate poſſeſſion of their city, and to aſſiſt him in recovering thoſe provinces in the Netherlands which had anciently belonged to his crown. True policy directed Francis to comply with this propoſal. The counties of Flanders and Artois were more valuable than the duchy of Milan, for which

15. *La Science de Gov.* par. M. de Real. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book vi.

he

he had ſo long contended; and their ſituation in regard to France made it more eaſy to conquer or to defend them. But we are apt to eſtimate the value of things by the trouble which they have coſt us. Francis, computing in this manner, over-rated the territory of Milan. He had lived in friendſhip with the emperor, ever ſince their interview at Aigues-mortes, and Charles had promiſed him the inveſtiture of that duchy. Forgetting therefore all his paſt injuries, and the deceitful promiſes by which he had been ſo often duped, the credulous, generous, but unprincipled Francis, not only rejected the propoſitions of the citizens of Ghent, but communicated to the emperor, his whole negociation with the malcontents [16].

LETTER LIX. A.D. 1539

JUDGING of Charles's heart by his own, Francis hoped, by this ſeemingly diſintereſted proceeding, to obtain at once the inveſtiture of Milan; and the emperor, well acquainted with the weakneſs of his rival, flattered him in this hope, for his own ſelfiſh purpoſes. His preſence being neceſſary in the Netherlands, he demanded a paſſage through France. It was immediately granted him; and Charles, to whom every moment was precious, ſet out, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his council, and the fears of his Spaniſh ſubjects, with a ſmall but ſplendid train of an hundred perſons. He was met on the frontiers of France by the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, who offered to go into Spain, and remain there as hoſtages, till he ſhould reach his own dominions; but Charles replied, that the king's honour was ſufficient for his ſafety, and proſecuted his journey without any

16. Sandov. ubi ſup. *Mem. de Bellay.*

PART I. other ſecurity. The king entertained him with the utmoſt magnificence at Paris, and the two young princes did not take leave of him till he entered the Low Countries; yet he ſtill found means to evade his promiſe, and Francis continued to believe his profeſſions ſincere [17].

A. D. 1540. The citizens of Ghent, alarmed at the approach of the emperor, who was joined in the Netherlands by three armies, ſent ambaſſadors to implore his mercy, and offered to throw open their gates. Charles only condeſcended to reply, that he would appear among them, "as a ſovereign and a judge, with the ſceptre "and the ſword." He accordingly entered the place of his nativity, on the anniverſary of his birth; and inſtead of that lenity which might have been expected, exhibited an awful example of his ſeverity. Twenty-ſix of the principal citizens were put to death; a greater number were baniſhed; the city was declared to have forfeited its privileges; a new ſyſtem of laws and political adminiſtration was preſcribed; and a large fine was impoſed on the inhabitants, in order to defray the expence of erecting a citadel, together with an annual tax for the ſupport of a garriſon. They were not only deſpoiled of their ancient immunities, but made to pay, like conquered people, for the means of perpetuating their own ſlavery [18].

HAVING thus re-eſtabliſhed his authority in the Low Countries, and being now under no neceſſity of continuing that ſcene of falſhood and diſſimulation with which he had amuſed the French monarch, Charles began gradually to throw aſide the veil under which he had concealed his intentions with reſpect to

17. *Mem. de Ribier.* Thuan. lib. i. *Mem de Bellay.* 18. Haræi, *Annal. Brabantiæ.*

the

the duchy of Milan, and at laſt peremptorily refuſed to give up a territory of ſuch value, or voluntarily to make ſuch a liberal addition to the ſtrength of an enemy by diminiſhing his own power. He even denied, that he had ever made any promiſe which could bind him to an action ſo fooliſh, and ſo contrary to his own intereſt [29]. LETTER LIX. A. D. 1540.

THIS tranſaction expoſed the king of France to as much ſcorn as it did the emperor to cenſure. The blind credulity of Francis, after he had experienced ſo often the duplicity and artifices of his rival, ſeemed to merit no other return. He remonſtrated, however, and exclaimed, as if this had been the firſt inſtance in which the emperor had deceived him. The inſult offered to his underſtanding, affected him even more ſenſibly than the injury done to his intereſt; and he diſcovered ſuch reſentment as made it obvious that he would ſeize on the firſt opportunity of revenge, and that a new war would ſoon deſolate the European continent.

MEANWHILE Charles was obliged to turn his attention towards the affairs of Germany. The Proteſtants having in vain demanded a general council, preſſed him earneſtly to appoint a conference between a ſelect number of divines of each party, in order to examine the points in diſpute. For this purpoſe a diet was aſſembled at Ratiſbon: and ſuch a conference, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the pope, was held with great ſolemnity in the preſence of the emperor. But the divines choſen to manage the controverſy, though men of learning and moderation, were only able to ſettle a few ſpeculative opinions, all points A. D. 1541.

29. *Mem. de Bellay.*

PART I. A. D. 1541.

relative to worſhip and juriſdiction ſerving only to inflame the minds of the diſputants. Charles therefore, finding his endeavours to bring about an accommodation ineffectual, and being impatient to cloſe the diet, prevailed on a majority of the members to approve of the following edict of receſs:—That the articles concerning which the divines had agreed, ſhould be held as points decided; that thoſe about which they had differed, ſhould be referred to the determination of a general council, or if that could not be obtained, to a national ſynod; and ſhould it prove impracticable alſo to aſſemble a ſynod of Germany, that a general diet of the empire ſhould be called within eighteen months, in order to give final judgment on the whole controverſy; that, in the meantime, no innovations ſhould be made, nor any means employed to gain proſelytes [20].

THIS edict gave great offence to the pope. The bare mention of allowing a diet, compoſed chiefly of laymen, to paſs judgment in regard to articles of faith, appeared to him no leſs criminal and profane than the worſt of thoſe hereſies which the emperor ſeemed ſo zealous to ſuppreſs. The Proteſtants alſo were diſſatisfied with it, as it conſiderably abridged the liberty which they at that time enjoyed. They murmured loudly againſt it; and Charles, unwilling to leave any ſeeds of diſcontent in the empire, granted them a private declaration, exempting them from whatever they thought injurious or oppreſſive in the edict of receſs, and aſcertaining to them the full poſſeſſion of all their former privileges [21].

20. Father Paul, lib. i. Seckend. lib. iii. Dumont, *Corps Diplom.* tom. iv.

21. Id. ibid.

THE

LETTER LIX.

A. D. 1541.

THE ſituation of the emperor's affairs at this juncture made theſe extraordinary conceſſions neceſſary. He foreſaw a rupture with France to be unavoidable, and he was alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the Turks in Hungary. A great revolution had happened in that kingdom. John Zapol Scæpius, by the aſſiſtance of Solyman, had wreſted from the King of the Romans a conſiderable part of the country. John died, and left an infant ſon. Ferdinand attempted to take advantage of the minority, in order to repoſſeſs himſelf of the whole kingdom; but his ambition was diſappointed by the activity and addreſs of George Martinuzzi, biſhop of Waradin, who ſhared the regency with the queen. Senſible that he was unable to oppoſe the king of the Romans in the field, Martinuzzi ſatisfied himſelf with holding out the fortified towns, all which he provided with every thing neceſſary for defence; and he at the ſame time ſent ambaſſadors to Solyman, beſeeching him to extend toward the ſon, that imperial protection which had ſo generouſly maintained the father on the throne. Ferdinand uſed his utmoſt endeavours to thwart this negociation, and even meanly offered to hold the Hungarian crown on the ſame ignominious conditions by which John had obtained it, that of paying tribute to the Porte. But the ſultan ſaw ſuch advantages from eſpouſing the intereſt of the young king, that he inſtantly marched into Hungary; and the Germans, having formed the ſiege of Buda, were defeated with great ſlaughter before that city. Solyman, however, inſtead of becoming the protector of the infant ſovereign whom he had relieved, made uſe of this ſucceſs to extend his own dominions: he ſent the queen and her ſon into Tranſilvania, which pro-

PART I. province he allotted them, and added Hungary to the Ottoman empire[22].

A. D. 1541.

HAPPILY for the Proteſtants, Charles had received intelligence of this revolution before the cloſe of the diet at Ratiſbon; and in conſequence of the conceſſions which he made them, he obtained ſuch liberal ſupplies, both of men and money, in order to proſecute the war againſt the Turks, as left him little anxiety about the ſecurity of Germany. He therefore haſtened to join his fleet and army in Italy, on purpoſe to carry into execution a great and favourite enterprize, which he had concerted againſt Algiers; though it would certainly have been more conſiſtent with his dignity to have conducted the whole force of the empire againſt Solyman, the common enemy of Chriſtendom, who was preparing to enter his Auſtrian dominions. But many reaſons induced Charles to prefer the African expedition. He wanted ſtrength to combat the Turks in ſo diſtant a country as Hungary; and the glory which he had formerly acquired in Barbary led him to hope for like ſucceſs; while the cries of his Spaniſh ſubjects rouſed him to take vengeance on their ravagers.

ALGIERS, ſince the taking of Tunis, was become the common receptacle of all the Barbary corſairs; and from the time that Barbaroſſa, as captain-baſha, commanded the Turkiſh fleet, it had been governed by Haſcen Aga, a renegado eunuch, who out-did, if poſſible, his maſter in boldneſs and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his gallies; and ſuch frequent alarms were given to the coaſts of Spain, that there was a neceſſity for

22. Iſtuanhaffe, *Hiſt. Hung.* lib. xiv.

erecting

erecting watch-towers at certain diſtances, and of keeping a guard conſtantly employed, in order to deſcry the approach of his ſquadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from the depredations of the rapacious ruffians with which they were manned. LETTER LIX. A.D. 1541.

CHARLES, before he left Spain, had reſolved to humble this daring corſair, and to exterminate the lawleſs crew who had ſo long infeſted the ocean. With this view he had ordered a fleet and army to aſſemble on the coaſt of Italy; and although the autumn was now far advanced, he obſtinately perſiſted in his purpoſe, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Andrew Doria, who conjured him not to expoſe ſo noble an armament to almoſt inevitable deſtruction, by venturing at ſo late a ſeaſon to approach the ſtormy coaſt of Algiers. Doria's words proved prophetical.

No ſooner had the emperor landed in Barbary, than a frightful hurricane aroſe; ſcattered his fleet, and daſhed great part of it in pieces; while he and his land forces were expoſed to all the fury of the elements, in an enemy's country, without a hut or a tent to ſhelter them, or ſo much as a ſpot of firm ground on which they could reſt their wearied bodies. In this calamitous ſituation, cold and wet, they continued during ſeveral days, haraſſed at the ſame time by the attacks of the Algerines. At laſt Doria happily being able to aſſemble the remains of the fleet, Charles was glad to reimbark, after having loſt the greater part of his army, by the inclemency of the weather, famine, or the ſword of the enemy. And the men who yet ſurvived were doomed to encounter new miſeries in their return; the fleet being ſcattered

by

PART I. A. D. 1541.

a freſh ſtorm, and the ſhips obliged to take ſhelter, ſeparately, in thoſe ports of Spain or Italy they could firſt reach [23].

SUCH, my dear Philip, was the reſult of the emperor's pompous expedition againſt Algiers, the moſt unfortunate enterprize of his reign, and that on which he built the higheſt hopes. But if Charles failed to acquire the glory which ever attends ſucceſs, he ſecured that which is more eſſentially connected with merit. He never appeared greater than amidſt his misfortunes. His firmneſs and conſtancy of ſpirit, his magnanimity, fortitude, humanity and compaſſion, were eminently conſpicuous. He endured as ſevere hardſhips as the meaneſt ſoldier; he expoſed his own perſon to whatever danger appeared; he encouraged the deſponding, viſited the ſick and wounded, and animated all by his words and example [24]. He paid dearly for his obſtinacy and preſumption; but he made mankind ſenſible, that he poſſeſſed many valuable qualities, which an almoſt uninterrupted flow of proſperity had hitherto afforded him little opportunity of ſhewing.

THE loſs which the emperor ſuffered in this calamitous enterprize encouraged the king of France to begin hoſtilities, on which he had been for ſome time reſolved; an action diſhonourable to civil ſociety having furniſhed him with too good a pretext for taking arms. The marquis del Guaſto, governor of the duchy of Milan, had got intelligence of the motions and deſtination of two ambaſſadors, Rincon and Fergoſo, whom Francis had diſpatched, the one to the Otto-

23. Nic. Villag. *Expedit. Car. V. ad Algyriam.* Sandov. vol. ii. Robertſon, book vi.

24. Id. Ibid.

man

man Porte, the other to the republic of Venice; and knowing how much his maſter wiſhed to diſcover the intentions of the French monarch, and of what conſequence it was to retard the execution of his meaſures, he employed ſome ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon of Pavia to lie in wait for theſe ambaſſadors as they ſailed down the Po. The ambaſſadors and moſt of their attendants were murdered, and their papers ſeized [25].

FRANCIS immediately demanded reparation for that barbarous violence; and as Charles endeavoured to put him off with an evaſive anſwer, he appealed to all the courts of Europe, ſetting forth the heinouſneſs of the injury, the iniquity of the emperor in diſregarding his juſt requeſt, and the neceſſity of vengeance. But Charles, who was a more profound negociator, defeated in a great meaſure the effects of theſe ſpirited repreſentations. He ſecured the fidelity of the Proteſtant princes in Germany, by granting them new conceſſions; and he engaged the king of England to eſpouſe his cauſe, under pretence of defending Europe againſt the Infidels; while Francis was only able to form an alliance with the kings of Denmark and Sweden (who for the firſt time intereſted themſelves in the quarrels of the ſovereigns of the South), and to renew his treaty with Solyman, which drew on him the indignation of Chriſtendom.

BUT the activity of Francis ſupplied all the defects in his negociation. Five armies were ſoon ready to take the field, under different generals, and with different deſtinations. Nor was Charles wanting in his preparations. He and Henry, a ſecond time, made an ideal diviſion of the kingdom of France. But as A.D. 1542.

25. *Mem. de Bellay.*

the

PART I. the hoſtilities that enſued were followed by no important conſequence, nor diſtinguiſhed by any memorable event, except the battle of Ceriſoles, gained by count d'Enguien over the Imperialiſts, and in which ten thouſand of the emperor's beſt troops fell, I ſhall not enter into particulars. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, That after France, Spain, Piedmont, and the Low Countries, had been alternately, or at once, the ſcene of war; after the Turkiſh fleet under Barbaroſſa had ravaged the coaſts of Italy, and the lilies of France and the creſcent of Mahomet had appeared in conjunction before Nice, where the croſs of Savoy was diſplayed, Francis and Charles, mutually tired of harraſſing each other, concluded at Creſpy a treaty of peace, in which the king of England was not mentioned; and, from being implacable enemies, became once more, in appearance, cordial friends, and even allies by the ties of blood [26].

A.D. 1544.

The chief articles in this treaty were, That all the conqueſts which either party had made ſince the truce of Nice ſhould be reſtored; that the emperor ſhould give in marriage to the duke of Orleans, either his own eldeſt daughter, with the Low Countries, or the ſecond daughter of his brother Ferdinand, with the inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan; that Francis ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples, as well as to the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and Charles give up his claim to the duchy of Burgundy; and that both ſhould unite in making war againſt the Turks [27].

26. *Mem. de Monluc. Mem. de Bellay.* 27. *Recueil des Traitez*, tom. i.

The

LETTER LIX.

THE emperor was chiefly induced to grant conditions ſo advantageous to France, by a deſire of humbling the Proteſtant princes in Germany. With the papal juriſdiction, he foreſaw they would endeavour to throw off the imperial authority; and he had determined to make his zeal for the former a pretence for enforcing and extending the latter. But before I ſpeak of the wars in which that reſolution involved him, I muſt carry forward the domeſtic hiſtory of England, the knowledge of which will throw light on many foreign tranſactions.

MEANWHILE I ſhall obſerve, for the ſake of perſpicuity, that the death of the duke of Orleans, before the conſummation of his marriage, diſentangled the emperor from the moſt troubleſome ſtipulation in the treaty of Creſpy; and that the French monarch, being ſtill engaged in hoſtilities with England, was unable to obtain any reparation for the loſs which he ſuffered by this unforeſeen event. Theſe hoſtilities, like thoſe between Charles and Francis, terminated in nothing deciſive. Equally tired of a ſtruggle, attended with no glory or advantage to either, the contending princes concluded at Campe, near Ardres, a treaty of peace in which it was ſtipulated, That France ſhould pay the arrears due by former treaties to England. But theſe arrears did not amount to more than one-third of the ſums expended by Henry on his military operations; and Francis being in no condition to diſcharge them, Boulogne (a chargeable pledge) was left in the hands of the Engliſh monarch as a ſecurity for the debt[28]. Such was the reſult of a war which had waſted the wealth and ſtrength of both kingdoms, and threatened the final ruin of one of them!

A.D. 1545.

A.D. 1546.

28. Herbert. Stowe.

LETTER

LETTER LX.

The domeſtic Hiſtory of ENGLAND *during the Reign of* HENRY VIII. *with ſome Account of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND, *and of the Riſe of the Reformation in both Kingdoms.*

LETTER LX.

NO prince ever aſcended the throne of England with more advantages than Henry VIII. You have already had occaſion, my dear Philip, to obſerve his fortunate ſituation with reſpect to the great powers on the continent: he was no leſs happy in regard to the internal ſtate of his kingdom, and other domeſtic circumſtances. His title to the crown was undiſputed; his treaſury was full; his ſubjects were in tranquillity; and the vigour and comelineſs of his perſon, his freedom of manner, his love of ſhew, and his dexterity in every manly exerciſe, rendered his acceſſion highly popular, while his proficiency in literature, and his reputation for talents, made his character reſpectable. Every thing ſeemed to prognoſticate a happy and proſperous reign.

THE firſt act of Henry's adminiſtration confirmed the public hopes: it was the proſecution of Empſon and Dudley, the two unfeeling miniſters whom his father had employed in his extortions. They inſiſted, and perhaps juſtly, that they had acted ſolely by royal authority; but the jury was ſo far moved by popular prejudices as to give a verdict againſt them, and Henry, at the earneſt deſire of the people, granted
A. D. 1509. a warrant for their execution[1].

1. Hollingſhed.

HAVING

LETTER LX.

A D. 1509.

HAVING puniſhed the inſtruments of paſt oppreſſion, the king's next concern was to fulfil his former engagements. He had been affianced during his father's life-time to the infanta Catharine, his brother's widow; and notwithſtanding ſome ſcruples on that ſtep, he now agreed that their nuptials ſhould be celebrated. We ſhall afterwards have occaſion to obſerve the extraordinary effects of this marriage, and of the king's remorſe, either real or pretended.

SOME princes have been their own miniſters, but almoſt every one has either had a miniſter or a favourite: Wolſey, whoſe character has already been delineated, was both to Henry. Being admitted to the youthful monarch's peaſures, he took the lead in every jovial converſation, and promoted, notwithſtanding his religious habit, all that frolic and gaiety, which he found to be agreeable to the age and inclinations of the king. During the intervals of amuſement, he introduced buſineſs and ſtate affairs, and inſinuated thoſe maxims of conduct, which he was deſirous his maſter ſhould purſue [2]. By theſe means he inſenſibly acquired that abſolute aſcendant over Henry, which diſtinguiſhed his adminiſtration; and the people ſaw, with concern, every day new inſtances of his uncontrouled authority.

THE duke of Buckingham, lord high conſtable of England, the firſt nobleman in the kingdom both in family and fortune, having wantonly given diſguſt to Wolſey, ſoon found reaſon to repent his imprudence. He was deſcended by a female from the duke of Glouceſter, youngeſt ſon of Edward III. and being infatuated with judicial aſtrology, he conſulted

2. Cavendiſh.

PART I. with a Carthuſian friar, named Hopkins, who flattered him with the hope of aſcending one day the Engliſh throne. He had even been ſo unguarded as to utter ſome expreſſions againſt the king's life. The cardinal made theſe the grounds of an impeachment; and although Buckingham's threats ſeem to have proceeded more from indiſcretion than deliberate malice, he was
A.D. 1521. brought to trial, condemned, and executed[3]. The office of high conſtable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, being forfeited by his attainder, was never afterward revived in England.

THE next memorable event in the domeſtic hiſtory of this reign, is the divorce of queen Catherine. The king's ſcruples in regard to the lawfulneſs of his marriage increaſed with the decay of the queen's beauty. She had borne him ſeveral children, but they were all dead except the princeſs Mary; and Henry was paſſionately fond of male iſſue. He conſulted his confeſſor, the biſhop of Lincoln, on the legality of marrying a brother's widow, and found that prelate poſſeſſed with ſome doubts and difficulties. He next proceeded to examine the queſtion by his own learning and ſtudy, being himſelf a great divine and caſuiſt; and having had recourſe to the works of his oracle, Thomas Aquinas, he diſcovered that this celebrated doctor had expreſsly declared againſt the lawfulneſs of ſuch marriages. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was now applied to, and deſired to conſult his brethren. All the prelates in England, except Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, unanimouſly declared under their hand and
A.D. 1527. ſeal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful[4]. Wolſey alſo fortified his maſter's ſcruples; and the bright eyes of Anne Boleyn, maid of honour to the

3. Herbert.

4. Burnet, *Hiſt. Reformat.* book i.

queen, carried home every argument to the heart of Henry, more forcibly than even the ſuggeſtions of that powerful favourite. LETTER LX. A. D. 1527.

THIS young lady was daughter of ſir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by Henry in ſeveral embaſſies, and was allied to all the chief nobility in the kingdom. She had been carried over to Paris in early youth, by the king's ſiſter, when eſpouſed to Lewis XII. of France; and the graces of her mind, no leſs than the beauty of her perſon, had diſtinguiſhed her even in that poliſhed court. The time at which ſhe returned to England is not certainly known; but it appears to have been after the king had entertained doubts concerning the lawfulneſs of his marriage. She immediately caught the roving and amorous eye of Henry; and as her virtue and modeſty left him no hope of licentious indulgences, he reſolved to raiſe her to the throne, which her accompliſhments, both natural and acquired, ſeemed equally fitted to adorn.

BUT many bars were yet in the way of Henry's wiſhes. It was not only neceſſary to obtain a divorce from the pope, but a revocation of the bull which had been granted for his marriage with Catharine, before he could marry Anne: and he had to combat all the intereſt of the emperor, whoſe aunt he was going to degrade. The king of England, however, did not deſpair of ſucceſs. He was in high favour with the court of Rome, and he deſerved to be ſo. He had not only oppoſed the progreſs of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extenſive and almoſt abſolute authority conferred upon him, but he had even written a book againſt them; a performance in itſelf

PART I. not contemptible, and which gave ſo much pleaſure to Leo X. that he conferred upon Henry the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Senſible therefore of his importance, as the chief pillar of the church, at a time when it ſtood in much need of ſupport, he confidently applied to Clement VII. the reigning pontiff, for a diſſolution of his marriage with Catharine.

THE pope ſeemed at firſt favourable to Henry's inclinations; but his dread of diſpleaſing the emperor, whoſe priſoner he had lately been, prevented him from coming to any fixed determination. He at laſt, however, impowered Campeggio and Wolſey, his two legates in England, to try the validity of the king's
A.D. 1529. marriage. They accordingly opened their court at London, and proceeded to the examination of the matter. The firſt point which came before them, and that which Henry wanted chiefly to eſtabliſh, was Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catherine; and although the queen proteſted that her virgin honour was yet untainted, when the king received her into his bed, and even appealed to his Grace (the title then taken by our kings) for the truth of her aſſeveration, ſtronger proofs than were produced could not be expected of ſuch a fact, after ſo long an interval. But when the buſineſs ſeemed drawing near to a cloſe, and while Henry was in anxious expectation of a ſentence in his favour, all his hopes were ſuddenly blaſted. Campeggio, on the moſt frivolous pretences, prorogued the court; and Clement, at the interceſſion of the emperor, revoked the cauſe ſoon after to Rome [5].

THIS fineſſe occaſioned the fall of Wolſey. Anne Boleyn imputed to him the failure of her expecta-

5. Herbert. Burnet, ubi ſup.

tions,

tions, and Henry, who entertained the higheſt opinion of the cardinal's capacity, aſcribed his miſcarriage in the preſent undertaking, not to misfortune or miſtake, but to the malignity or infidelity of that miniſter. The great ſeal was taken from him, and given to ſir Thomas More, a man of learning, virtue, and capacity. He was indicted in the Star-Chamber; his lands and goods were declared forfeited; his houſes and furniture were ſeized; he was pronounced without the protection of the laws, and his perſon liable to be committed to cuſtody [6]. The king's heart, however, relented, and the proſecution was carried no farther; but the cardinal was ordered to remove from court, and his final ruin was hanging over him.

THE parliament laid hold of the preſent opportunity to paſs ſeveral bills, reſtraining the impoſitions of the clergy; and Henry was not diſpleaſed, that the pope and his whole militia, ſhould be made ſenſible of their dependence upon him, and of the willingneſs of his ſubjects, if he was ſo diſpoſed, to reduce the power and privileges of eccleſiaſtics. Amid the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexion with Rome: and Anne Boleyn uſed every inſinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities with Clement; both as the readieſt and ſureſt means of her exaltation to the royal dignity, and of ſpreading the new doctrines, in which ſhe had been initiated under

6. Strype. Cavendiſh. The richneſs of Wolſey's furniture was ſuch as muſt aſtoniſh even the preſent age. The principal apartments of his palace were lined with cloth of gold or cloth of ſilver: he had a ſideboard of plate of maſſy gold; and every other article for domeſtic uſe or ornament, was proportionably ſumptuous. Ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1529. the ducheſs of Alençon, a warm friend to the Reformation. But Henry, notwithſtanding theſe inducements, had ſtill many reaſons to deſire a good agreement with the ſovereign pontiff. Having been educated in a ſuperſtitious veneration for the holy ſee, he dreaded the reproach of hereſy; and he abhorred all alliance with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power, becauſe Luther, their apoſtle, had handled him roughly, in an anſwer to his book in defence of the Romiſh communion.

WHILE Henry was fluctuating between theſe contrary opinions, two of his courtiers fell accidentally, one evening, into company with Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jeſus college, in Cambridge, a man diſtinguiſhed by his learning, but ſtill more by his candour; and as the affair of the divorce became the ſubject of converſation, he obſerved, that the beſt way, either to quiet the king's conſcience or obtain the pope's conſent, would be to conſult all the univerſities in Europe with regard to that controverted
A.D. 1530. point. When Henry was informed of this propoſal, he was delighted with it, and ſwore with great violence, "By God! Cranmer has got the right ſow by "the ear." The doctor was immediately ſent for, and taken into favour: the univerſities were conſulted, according to his advice; and all of them declared the king's marriage invalid [7].

CLEMENT, however, lying ſtill under the influence of the emperor, continued inflexible; and as Henry was ſenſible, that the extremities to which he was

7. Herbert. Burnet.

puſhed,

puſhed, both againſt the pope and the eccleſiaſtical order, muſt be diſagreeable to Wolſey, whoſe oppoſition he dreaded, he renewed the proſecution againſt his ancient favourite.

THE cardinal, after his diſgrace, had remained for ſome time at Richmond; but being ordered to remove to his ſee of York, he took up his reſidence at Cawood in Yorkſhire, where he rendered himſelf extremely popular in the neighbourhood, by his affability and hoſpitality. In this retreat he lived, when the earl of Northumberland received orders to arreſt him for high treaſon, and conduct him to London, as a preclude to his trial. On his journey he was ſeized with a diſorder, which turned into a dyſentery; and it was with much difficulty that he was able to reach Leiceſter-abbey. "I am come to lay my bones "among you," ſaid Wolſey to the abbot and monks, who came out to receive him: and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never roſe more. "O "had I but ſerved my God," cried he, a little before he expired, "as diligently as I have ſerved my "king, he would not have deſerted me in my grey "hairs[8]." His treaſon, indeed, ſeems rather to have been againſt the people than the prince, or even the ſtate; for although the violence and obſtinacy of Henry's character ought perhaps to apologize for many of the cardinal's public meaſures, his continued extortions upon the ſubject, by the moſt iniquitous methods, in what he called his Legantine court, admit of no alleviation.

THUS freed from a perſon whom he conſidered as an obſtacle in the way of his inclinations, and ſup-

8. Cavendiſh.

ported

PART I. ported by the opinion of the learned in the ſtep which he intended to take, Henry ordered a parliament, together with a convocation, to meet; in which he was
A.D. 1531. acknowledged, "the Protector and ſupreme Head of "the Church and Clergy of England." And being now fully determined in his own mind relative to a matter which had long engaged his thoughts, and reſolved to adminiſter eccleſiaſtical affairs without having farther recourſe to Rome, as well as to abide all conſequences, he privately celebrated his marriage
A.D. 1532. with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previouſly created marchioneſs of Pembroke.

CRANMER, now become archbiſhop of Canterbury, annulled ſoon after the king's marriage with Catherine (a ſtep which ought to have preceded his ſecond nuptials), and ratified that with Anne, who was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity ſuited to ſuch a ceremony [9]. And, to complete the ſatisfaction of Henry on the concluſion of this troubleſome buſineſs, the queen was ſafely delivered of a daugh-
A.D. 1533. ter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and whom we ſhall afterwards ſee ſwaying the Engliſh ſceptre with equal glory to herſelf and happineſs to her people.

WHEN intelligence was conveyed to Rome of theſe tranſactions, the conclave was all in a rage, and the pope was urged by the cardinals of the imperial faction, to dart his ſpiritual thunders againſt Henry. But Clement was ſtill unwilling to proceed to extremities; he only declared Cranmer's ſentence null, and threatened the king with excommunication, if he did not put things in their former condition, before a day

9. Heylin.

named.

named. In the mean time Henry was prevailed upon, by the mediation of the king of France, to ſubmit his cauſe to the Roman conſiſtory, provided the cardinals of the imperial faction were excluded from it. The pope conſented; and promiſed that, if the king would ſign a written agreement to this purpoſe, his demands ſhould be fully complied with. But on what ſlight incidents often depend the greateſt events!—The courier appointed to carry the king's written promiſe, was detained beyond the day fixed: news arrived at Rome, that a libel had been publiſhed in London againſt the Holy See, and a farce acted before the king in deriſion of the apoſtolic body [10]. The pope and cardinals entered into the conſiſtory inflamed with rage; the marriage between Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid; the king was declared excommunicated, if he refuſed to adhere to it, and the rupture with England was rendered final. LETTER LX. A.D. 1533. A.D. 1534.

THE Engliſh parliament, aſſembled ſoon after this deciſion of the court of Rome, conferred on the king the title of "The *only ſupreme* HEAD of the Church "of England *upon earth*," as they had already inveſted him with all the real power belonging to it; a meaſure of the utmoſt conſequence to the kingdom, whether conſidered in a civil or eccleſiaſtical view, and which forms a memorable æra in our conſtitution. The legiſlature by thus acknowledging the king's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical matters, and uniting the ſpiritual with the civil power, introduced greater ſimplicity into government, and prevented all future diſputes about the limits of contending juriſdictions. A door was alſo opened for checking the exorbitances of ſuperſtition, and breaking thoſe ſhackles, by which human reaſon, policy, and

10. Father Paul, lib. i.

induſtry

PART I. induſtry had ſo long been circumſcribed; for, as a pro-
A. D. 1534. found hiſtorian has juſtly obſerved, the prince being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal juriſdiction of the kingdom, though he might ſometimes be tempted to employ the former as an engine of government, could have no intereſt, like the Roman pontiff, in encouraging its uſurpations [11].

But England though thus happily releaſed from the oppreſſive juriſdiction of the pope, was far from enjoying religious freedom. Liberty of conſcience was, if poſſible, more confined than ever. Henry not only retained his averſion againſt Luther and his doctrines, but ſo many of his early prejudices hung about him, that the idea of hereſy ſtill filled him with horror. Separate as he ſtood from the Catholic church, he continued to value himſelf on maintaining its dogmas, and on guarding with fire and ſword the imaginary purity of his ſpeculative opinions. All who denied the king's ſupremacy, the legitimacy of his daughter Elizabeth, or who embraced the tenets of the reformers, were equally the objects of his vengeance. Among the latter were many unhappy perſons, who had greedily imbibed the Lutheran doctrines, during Henry's quarrel with Rome, in hopes of a total change of worſhip; and who having gone too far to recede, fell martyrs to their new faith. Among the former were Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſir Thomas More, late chancellor, who refuſed to acknowledge the king's ſupremacy, and died upon
A. D. 1535. the ſcaffold with heroic conſtancy. More, who was a man of a gay humour, retained even his facetiouſneſs to the laſt. When he laid his head on the block, and ſaw the executioner ready with his weapon,

11. Hume, *Hiſt. Eng.* chap. xxx.

"Stay,

"Stay, friend," ſaid he, "till I put aſide my beard;" for, added he, "it never committed treaſon[12]." What pity, and what an inſtance of the inconſiſtency of human nature, that the man who could make a jeſt of death, ſhould make a matter of conſcience of the pope's ſupremacy! LETTER LX. A. D. 1535.

ALTHOUGH Henry thus puniſhed both Proteſtants and Catholics, his moſt dangerous enemies, he was ſenſible, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, and more eſpecially the monks, who having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain conſequence of aboliſhing his authority in England. The king therefore determined to ſuppreſs the monaſteries, as ſo many nurſeries of rebellion, as well as of idleneſs, ſuperſtition, and folly, and to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of their ample revenues. In order to effectuate this robbery with ſome colour of juſtice, he appointed commiſſioners to viſit all religious houſes; and theſe men, acquainted with the king's deſign, brought reports, whether true or falſe, of ſuch frightful diſorders, lewdneſs, ignorance, prieſt-craft, and unnatural luſts, as filled the nation with horror againſt inſtitutions held ſacred by their anceſtors, and lately objects of the moſt profound veneration. The leſſer monaſteries, ſaid to have been the moſt corrupted, to the number of three hundred and ſeventy-ſix, were at once ſuppreſſed by parliament; and their revenues, goods, chattels, and plate, were granted to the king[13]. A. D. 1536.

THE convocation, which ſat at the ſame time with the parliament, paſſed a vote for a new traſlation of

12. *Life of Sir T. More.* Fox. Herbert. 13. Burnet.

the

PART I. A. D. 1536.

the Bible, none being yet publiſhed, by authority, in the Engliſh language; and the Reformation ſeemed faſt gaining ground in the kingdom, though the king ſtill declared himſelf its enemy, when its promoters, Cranmer, Latimer, and others, met with a ſevere mortification, which ſeemed to blaſt all their hopes, in the untimely fate of their patroneſs, Anne Boleyn.

THIS lady now began to experience the decay of the king's affections, and the capriciouſneſs of his temper. That heart whoſe allegiance ſhe had withdrawn from another, revolted at laſt againſt herſelf. Henry's paſſion, which had ſubſiſted in full force, during the ſix years that the proſecution of the divorce laſted, and ſeemed only to increaſe under difficulties, had ſcarcely attained poſſeſſion of its object, when it ſunk into langour, ſucceeded by diſguſt. His love was ſuddenly transferred to a new miſtreſs. The charms of Jane Seymour, maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of exquiſite beauty, had entirely captivated him; and as he appears to have had little idea of any other connexion than that of marriage, he thought of nothing but how to raiſe her to his bed and throne.

THIS peculiarity in Henry's diſpoſition, proceeding from an indolence of temper, or an averſion againſt the vice of gallantry, involved him in crimes of a blacker dye, and in greater anxieties, than thoſe which he ſought to avoid by forming a legal connexion. Before he could marry Jane, it was neceſſary to get rid of his once beloved Anne, now become a bar in the way of his felicity. That obſtacle, however, was ſoon removed. The heart is not more ingenious in ſuggeſting apologies for its deviations, than courtiers in finding expedients for gratifiying the inclinations of

of their prince. The queen's enemies among Henry's courtiers, immediately ſenſible of the alienation of the king's affections, accompliſhed her ruin, by flattering his new paſſion. They repreſented that freedom of manner, which Anne had acquired in France, as a diſſolute levity: they indirectly accuſed her of a criminal correſpondence with ſeveral gentlemen of the bedchamber, and even with her own brother! and they extolled the virtues of Jane Seymour [14]. Henry believed all, becauſe he wiſhed to be convinced. The queen was committed to the Tower; impeached, brought to trial; condemned without evidence, and executed without remorſe. Hiſtory affords us no reaſon to call her innocence in queſtion; and the king, by marrying her known rival the day after her execution, made the motives of his conduct ſufficiently evident, and left the world in little doubt about the iniquity of her ſentence.

IF farther arguments, my dear Philip, ſhould be thought neceſſary in ſupport of the innocence of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, her ſerenity, and even chearfulneſs, while under confinement and ſentence of death, ought to have its weight, as it is perhaps unexampled in a woman, and could not well be the aſſociate of guilt. "Never prince," ſays ſhe, in a letter to Henry, "had wife more loyal in all duty, and in "all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne "Boleyn; with which name and place I could willing"ly have contented myſelf, if God and your grace's "pleaſure had been ſo pleaſed: neither did I at any "time ſo far forget myſelf in my exaltation, or re"ceived queenſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch "an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my

14. Stype. Burnet.

"prefer-

PART I. A. D. 1536.

"preferment being on no ſurer foundation than your "grace's fancy, the leaſt alteration I knew was fit "and ſufficient to draw that fancy to ſome other ob- "ject." In another letter to the king, ſhe ſays, "You "have raiſed me from a private gentlewoman to a "marchioneſs; from a marchioneſs to a queen; and "ſince you can exalt me no higher in this world, you "are reſolved to ſend me to heaven, that I may be- "come a ſaint!" This gaiety continued to the laſt. The morning of her cataſtrophe, converſing with the lieutenant of the Tower on what ſhe was going to ſuffer, he endeavoured to comfort her by the ſhortneſs of its duration. "The executioner indeed," replied ſhe, "I am told is very expert; and I have but a "ſlender neck!" graſping it with her hand, and ſmiling [15]. The queen's brother, and three gentlemen of the bedchamber, alſo fell victims to the king's ſuſpicions; or rather were ſacrificed to hallow his nuptials with Jane Seymour.

THE Catholics, who had been the chief inſtruments of theſe tragical events, did not reap ſo much advantage from the fall of queen Anne as they expected. The friends of the Reformation ſtill maintained their credit with the king; and articles of faith were drawn up by the convocation under Henry's eye, more favourable to the new than the old religion, but ſtill more conformable to the ideas of the royal theologiſt, than agreeable to the partizans of either. Prudence, however, taught the Proteſtants to be ſilent, and to reſt ſatisfied with the ground which they had gained. The diſappointed Catholics were leſs quiet. The late innovations, particularly the diſſolution of the ſmaller monaſteries, and the imminent danger to

15. Ibid.

which

which all the reſt were expoſed, had bred diſcontents among the people. The Romiſh religion, ſuited to vulgar capacity, took hold of the multitude by powerful motives: they were intereſted for the ſouls of their forefathers, which they believed muſt now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of maſſes to relieve them. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, encouraged theſe prejudices to rouſe the populace to rebellion; and they aſſembled in large bodies in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in Lincolnſhire and the northern counties. But by the prudent conduct of the duke of Norfolk, who commanded the king's forces, and who ſecretly favoured the cauſe of the rebels, but not their rebellious meaſures, tranquillity was happily reſtored to the kingdom, with little effuſion of blood [16]. LETTER LX. A.D. 1536.

THE ſuppreſſion of theſe inſurrections was followed by an event which completed Henry's domeſtic felicity; the birth of a ſon, who was baptized under the name of Edward. But this happineſs was not without allay: the queen died two days after. A ſon, however, had been ſo long, and ſo ardently deſired by Henry, and was now become ſo neceſſary, in order to prevent diſputes with regard to the ſucceſſion, the two princeſſes being declared illegitimate, that the king's ſorrow was drowned in his joy. And his authority being thus confirmed at home, and his conſideration increaſed abroad, he carried into execution a meaſure on which he had been long reſolved, the utter deſtruction of the monaſteries. A.D. 1537.

THE better to reconcile the minds of the people to this great innovation, the impoſtures of the monks A.D. 1538.

16. Herbert.

were

were zealouſly brought to light. Among the ſacred repoſitories of convents were found, the parings of St. Edmund's toes; ſome coals that roaſted St. Laurence; the girdle of the bleſſed Virgin, ſhewn in eleven different places; two or three heads of St. Urſula; and part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's ſhirt, much reverenced by big-bellied women. Some impoſtures of a more artificial nature alſo were diſcovered; particularly a miraculous crucifix, which had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*, the eyes, lips, and head of which moved on the approach of its votaries. This crucifix was publicly broke at St. Paul's-croſs, and the ſprings and wheels by which it had been ſecretly moved were ſhewn to the whole people. The ſhrine of St. Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury, was likewiſe deſtroyed, and ſeemingly deſervedly, though much to the regret of the populace. So ſuperſtitious was the veneration for this ſaint, that it appeared, in one year, not a penny had been offered at God's altar; at the Virgin's only four pounds one ſhilling and eight pence; but at that of St. Thomas, nine hundred and fifty four pounds ſix ſhillings and three pence [17].

THE expoſure of ſuch enormous abſurdities and impieties took off much of the odium from a meaſure in itſelf rapacious, violent, and unjuſt. The acquieſcence of the nobility and gentry was farther procured by grants of the revenues of convents, or leaſes of them at a reduced rent: and the minds of the people were quieted by being told, that the king would have no farther occaſion to levy taxes, but would be able, during war as well as peace, to bear from the abbey-

17. Burnet. Herbert. Godwin. Stowe.

lands

lands the whole expence of government [18]. Henry also settled pensions on the ejected monks, and erected six new bishopricks; which silenced the murmurs of A.D. 1538. such of the secular clergy as were not altogether wedded to the Romish communion.

AFTER renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, the spirit of opposition, it was thought, would lead the king to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline of the church of Rome. But although Henry, since he came to the years of maturity, had been gradually changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, he was no less dogmatical in the few which yet remained to him, than if the whole fabric had been preserved entire; and so great was his scholastic arrogance, though he stood alone in his belief, that he thought himself entitled to regulate by his own particular standard, the religious faith of the nation. The chancellor was accordingly ordered to open the A.D. 1539. parliament with informing them, that is was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion. In consequence of this desire, a bill, consisting of six articles, called by the Protestants the *Bloody Bill*, was drawn up according to the king's ideas; and having passed through both houses, received the royal assent. In this statute was established, the doctrine of the real presence, or transubstantiation; the communion in one kind, or with bread only; the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity; the utility of private masses; the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The violation of either of these articles was made punishable with death; and a denial

18. Coke, *Inst.* fol. 44.

PART I. A.D. 1539. of the real preſence, to the diſgrace of common-ſenſe, could not be atoned for by the moſt humble recantation [19]: an inſtance of ſeverity unknown even to the inquiſition!

THE affairs of religion being thus ſettled, the king began to think of a new wife; and as the duke of Cleves had great intereſt with the princes of the Smalkaldic league, whoſe alliance was conſidered as advantageous to England, Henry ſolicited in marriage Anne, daughter of that duke. A flattering picture of this princeſs, drawn by Hans Holbein, co-operated with theſe political motives to determine the king in his choice; and Anne was ſent over to England. But Henry, though fond of large women, no ſooner ſaw her, than (ſo devoid was ſhe of beauty and grace!) he ſwore ſhe was a great Flanders mare, and declared he never could bear her any affection. He reſolved, however, to conſummate his marriage, notwithſtanding his diſlike, ſenſible that a contrary conduct would be highly reſented by her friends and family. He therefore told Cromwell, his miniſter ſince the death of Wolſey, and who had been inſtrumental in forming
A.D. 1540. the match, that "as matters had gone ſo far, he "muſt put his neck into the yoke."

BUT although political conſiderations had induced Henry to conſummate, at leaſt in appearance, his marriage with Anne of Cleves, they could not ſave him from diſguſt. His averſion againſt her increaſed every day; and Cromwell, though ſtill ſeemingly in favour, ſaw his own ruin, and the queen's diſgrace, faſt approaching. An unforeſeen cauſe accelerated

19. *Stat.* 31 *Henry VIII.* cap. xiv.

both,

both. The king had fixed his affections on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and as uſual, he determined to gratify his paſſion, by making her his royal conſort. The duke, who had long been at enmity with Cromwell, made uſe of his niece's inſinuations againſt that miniſter, who was a promoter of the Reformation, as he formerly had of thoſe of Anne Boleyn againſt Wolſey. Cromwell was accuſed of hereſy and treaſon, committed to the Tower, condemned and executed [10]. He was a man of low birth, but worthy, by his integrity and abilities, of the high ſtation to which he was raiſed; worthy of a better maſter, and a better fate. LETTER LX. A. D. 1540.

THE meaſures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves, were carried forward at the ſame time with the bill of attainder againſt Cromwell. Henry pleaded, that when he eſpouſed Anne, he had not *inwardly* given his conſent; and that, notwithſtanding the near approach he had made, he had not thought proper to *conſummate* the marriage. The convocation ſuſtained theſe reaſons, and ſolemnly annulled the engagements between the king and queen. The parliament, ever obſequious to Henry's will, ratified the deciſion of the church.

THE marriage of the king with Catherine Howard, which followed ſoon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was regarded as a favourable incident by the Catholic party; and the ſubſequent events correſponded with their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by the duke of Norfolk and biſhop Gardiner, a furious perſecution was begun againſt the Proteſtants. The *Law of the Six Articles*, which

[10] Burnet, vol. i.

PART I. Cromwell had, on all occaſions, taken care to ſoften, was executed with rigour; and Dr. Barnes, and ſeveral other clergymen, were proſecuted, and brought to the ſtake.

A. D. 1541. But Henry's attention was ſoon turned to proſecutions of a very different kind; and on a ſubject which affected him ſtill more ſenſibly than even the violation of his favourite theological ſtatute. He had thought himſelf extremely happy in his new conſort. The elegant perſon, and agreeable manners of Catherine, had entirely captivated his heart; and he had publicly, in his chapel, returned thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal ſtate afforded him. This happineſs, however, was of ſhort duration. It diſappeared like a gaudy meteor, almoſt as ſoon as perceived; and its loſs afflicted the king the more keenly, by reaſon of the circumſtances with which it was accompanied. It not only vaniſhed on a point which intimately concerned his peace, but on which he peculiarly valued himſelf, his ſkill in diſtinguiſhing a true maid. It at once wounded his pride and his paſſion. The queen had led a diſſolute life before marriage. She had abandoned herſelf to the footmen of her grandmother, the old ducheſs of Norfolk, while her maid was in the ſame chamber, and even along with her in the ſame bed. The proofs of this licentiouſneſs were poſitive. There was alſo room to believe, notwithſtanding her declaration to the contrary, that ſhe had not been faithful to the king's bed; for it appeared, that one Colepepper had paſſed the night with her alone ſince her marriage, and that ſhe had taken Derham, one of her old paramours into her ſervice [21].

21. Id. Ibid.

When

LETTER LX.

WHEN theſe proofs of Catherine's incontinence were laid before Henry, he was ſo deeeply affected, that he remained for ſome moments ſpeechleſs, and at laſt burſt into tears. The natural ferocity of his temper, however, ſoon returned; and he aſſembled a parliament, the uſual inſtrument of his tyranny, in order A.D. to ſatiate his vengeance. A bill of attainder was voted againſt the queen and the viſcounteſs of Rochford, who had conducted her criminal amours. A ſingular bill was alſo paſſed at the ſame time, making it treaſon in any perſon to conceal the incontinence of a queen of England; and farther enacting, That if a king of England ſhould marry any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe likewiſe ſhould be deemed guilty of treaſon, in caſe ſhe did not previouſly reveal her ſhame to him!—And the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-hill, though their guilt had preceded the framing of that ſtatute [22].

HAVING got over this troubleſome buſineſs, Henry again turned his attention to the affairs of religion; altering ſeveral times the national creed, according to his own capricious humour. And he turned his arms againſt his nephew, James V. of Scotland, becauſe that prince had refuſed to imitate his conduct, in throwing off the juriſdiction of the pope.

THE principles of the Reformation had already found their way into Scotland. Several perſons there had fallen martyrs to the new faith: and the nobility, invited by the example of England, had caſt a wiſhful eye on the eccleſiaſtical revenues; hoping, if a change in religion ſhould take place, to enrich themſelves

22. Burnet, ubi ſup.

PART I. A. D. 1542.

with the plunder of the church. But the king, though very poor, not ſuperſtitious, and ſomewhat inclined to magnificence, fortified by the arguments of the clergy, and guided by the inclinations of his queen, a daughter of the duke of Guiſe, reſiſted every temptation to ſuch robbery, and continued faithful to the ſee of Rome. This reſpect for the rights of the church proved fatal to James, and brought many miſeries on his kingdom, both before and after his death.

HAD the king of Scotland flattered the pride of Henry, by following his example in eccleſiaſtical affairs, he would have been ſupported in his meaſures with the whole force of England; whereas he now had that force to oppoſe, and a diſſatisfied people to rule.

Aug. 24. Fluſhed, however, with an advantage gained over a detachment from the Engliſh army by lord Hume, he marched at the head of thirty thouſand men to meet their main body, commanded by the duke of Norfolk, who had advanced as far as Kelſo; and as that nobleman retreated on the approach of the Scottiſh army, the king reſolved to enter England, and take vengeance on the invaders. But his nobility, diſſatisfied on account of the preference ſhewn to the clergy, oppoſed his reſolution, and refuſed to attend him. Equally enraged and ſurpriſed at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, he threatened puniſhment; and ſtill determined to make ſome impreſſion on the enemy's country with the forces that adhered to him, he diſpatched ten thouſand men to ravage the weſtern border. They entered England near Solway Frith, while he himſelf followed, at a ſmall diſtance, ready to join them upon occaſion.

BUT this expedition alſo proved unſucceſsful, and even highly unfortunate: and from a cauſe allied to that

that which had ruined the former enterprize. The king of Scotland, become peeviſh by diſappointment, and diffident of all his nobility, deprived lord Maxwell of the command of the army, and conferred it on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman. The Scots, diſpleaſed with this alteration, were preparing to diſband; when a ſmall body of Engliſh forces appearing, they ſuddenly took to flight, and were all either killed or made priſoners [23]. LETTER LX. A. D. 1542.

THIS diſaſter had ſuch an effect on the haughty mind of James, that he would admit of no counſel or conſolation, but abandoned himſelf wholly to deſpair. All the paſſions that are inimical to human life, ſhame, rage, and deſpondency, took hold of him at once. His body waſted daily by ſympathiſing with his anxious mind; and he was brought to the verge of the grave, when his queen was ſafely delivered of the celebrated and unfortunate Mary Stuart. Having no former iſſue living, he anxiouſly inquired, whether his conſort had brought him a ſon or daughter; and being told a daughter, he turned himſelf in his bed, and ſaid, "The crown came with a woman, and it "will go with a woman! Many woes await this un- "happy kingdom: Henry will make it his own either "by force of arms or by marriage." He expired ſoon after uttering theſe ſorrowful words. Dec. 14.

WHAT James had foretold came in part to paſs. Henry was no ſooner informed of the victory at Solway, and the death of his nephew, than he formed the project of uniting Scotland to his own dominions,

23 Buchanan, lib. xiv. Hume, chap. xxxiii.

PART. I. A. D. 1542. by marrying prince Edward, his only ſon, to the heireſs of that kingdom. For this purpoſe he called together ſuch of the Scottiſh nobility as were his priſoners, and offered them their liberty without ranſom, provided they would ſecond his views. They readily agreed to a propoſal ſo favourable to themſelves, and which ſeemed ſo natural, and ſo advantageous to both kingdoms; and by their means, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of cardinal Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who had placed himſelf at the head of the regency, by forging a will in the name of the late king, the parliament of Scotland conſented to a treaty of A. D. 1543. marriage and union with England [24]. The ſtipulations in that treaty, it would be of little conſequence, to enumerate, as they were never executed.

HENRY now finding himſelf at peace with all his neighbours, began to look out for another wife; and by eſpouſing Catherine Par, relict of lord Latimer, he confirmed what had been foretold in jeſt, that he would be obliged to marry a widow, as no reputed maid would ever be perſuaded to incur the penalty of his ſtatute reſpecting virginity. Catherine was a woman of virtue and good ſenſe; and though ſomewhat inclined to promote the Reformation, a circumſtance which gave great joy to the Proteſtant party, ſhe delivered her ſentiments with much caution in regard to the new doctrines. Henry, however, whoſe favourite topic of converſation was theology, by engaging her frequently in religious diſputes, found means to diſcover her real principles; and his unwieldy corpulence and ill health having ſoured his temper, and increaſed the ſeverity of his naturally paſ-

24. Id. Ibid. See alſo Sir Ralph Sadler's *Letters*.

ſionate

ſionate and tyrannical diſpoſition, he ordered an impeachment to be drawn up againſt her. And the greateſt prudence and addreſs only could have ſaved her from the block. LETTER LX. A.D. 1543.

HAVING happily got information of the king's diſpleaſure, Catherine replied, when he next offered to converſe with her on theological ſubjects, that ſuch profound ſpeculations were little ſuited to the natural imbecility of her ſex; obſerving, at the ſame time, that though ſhe declined not diſcourſe on any topic, however ſublime, when propoſed by his majeſty, ſhe well knew that her conceptions could ſerve no other purpoſe than to afford him a momentary amuſement; that ſhe found converſation apt to languiſh when not revived by ſome oppoſition, and had ventured, at times, to feign a contrariety of ſentiment, in order to afford him the pleaſure of refuting her. And ſhe ingeniouſly added, that ſhe alſo propoſed by this innocent artifice to engage the king in arguments, whence ſhe had obſerved, by frequent experience, that ſhe reaped much profit and inſtruction. "And is it ſo, ſweetheart?" ſaid Henry; "then we are friends again!" embracing her tenderly, and aſſuring her of his affection. The chancellor however, ignorant of this reconciliation, came next day to arreſt Catherine, purſuant to the king's warrant, but was diſmiſſed by Henry with the opprobrious appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beaſt*[25]. So violent and capricious was the temper of that prince! A.D. 1546.

BUT although the queen was ſo fortunate as to appeaſe Henry's reſentment againſt herſelf, ſhe could

25. Burnet, vol. i. Herbert. p. 560. Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii.

not

PART I. A. D. 1546.

not ſave thoſe whom ſhe moſt reſpected. Catherine and Cranmer excepted, the king puniſhed with unfeeling rigour all others, who preſumed to differ from him in religious opinions; but more eſpecially in the capital tenet, tranſubſtantiation. Among the unhappy victims committed to the flames for denying that abſurd doctrine, was Anne Aſcue, a young woman of ſingular beauty and merit, connected with the principal ladies at court, and even with the queen. She died with great tranquillity and fortitude, refuſing to earn, by recantation, a pardon, though offered her at the ſtake [26].

Nor did Henry's tyrannical and perſecuting ſpirit confine its vengeance to religious offenders: it was no leſs ſevere againſt ſuch as excited his political jealouſy. Amongſt theſe were the duke of Norfolk and his gallant ſon the earl of Surrey. The duke had rendered conſiderable ſervices to the crown; and although underſtood to be the head of the Catholic party, he had always conformed to the religion of the court. He had acquired an immenſe fortune in conſequence of the favours beſtowed upon him by Henry, and was confeſſedly the firſt ſubject in England. That eminence drew upon him the king's jealouſy. As Henry found his death approaching, he was afraid that Norfolk might diſturb the government during his ſon's minority, or alter his religious ſyſtem.

The earl of Surrey was a young nobleman of the moſt promiſing hopes, diſtinguiſhed by every accompliſhment which could adorn a ſcholar, a courtier, or a ſoldier of that age. But he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reſerve which his ſi-

26. Id. Ibid.

tuation

tuation required; and as he had declined all propoſals of marriage among the nobility, Henry imagined that he entertained hopes of eſpouſing his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Mary. The ſuſpicion of ſuch a dangerous ambition was enough. Both he and his father, the duke of Norfolk, were committed to the Tower; tried for high treaſon, and condemned to ſuffer death, without any evidence of guilt being produced againſt either of them; unleſs that the earl had quartered the arms of Edward the Confeſſor on his ſcutcheon, which was conſidered as a proof of his aſpiring to the crown, although the practice and privilege of ſo doing had been openly avowed by himſelf, and maintained by his anceſtors. Surrey was immediately executed, and an order was iſſued for the execution of Norfolk; but the king's death happening in the interval, nothing farther was done in the matter [27]. A.D. 1547.

Henry's health had long been declining, and his approaching diſſolution had been foreſeen by all around him for ſome days; but as it had been declared treaſon to foretel the king's death, no one durſt inform him of his condition, leſt he ſhould, in the firſt tranſports of his fury, order the author of ſuch intelligence to immediate puniſhment. Sir Anthony Denny, however, at laſt ventured to make known to him the awful truth. He ſignified his reſignation, and deſired that Cranmer might be ſent for. The primate came, though not before the king was ſpeechleſs; but as he ſtill ſeemed to retain his ſenſes, Cranmer deſired him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt. He ſqueezed the primate's hand, and immediately expired, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign [28]; affording, in his end, a ſtriking

27. Burnet, vol. i. Fox, vol. ii. 28. Burnet. Herbert, Fuller.

example,

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example, that compoſure in the hour of death is not the inſeparable characteriſtic of a life well-ſpent, nor vengeance in this world, the univerſal fate of blood-thirſty tyrants. Happily we know, that there is a ſtate beyond the grave, where all accounts will be ſettled, and a tribunal before which every one muſt anſwer for the deeds done in the fleſh; otherwiſe we ſhould be apt to conclude, from ſeeing the ſame things happen to the juſt and to the unjuſt, to the cruel and the merciful, that there was no eye in heaven that regarded the actions of man nor any arm to puniſh.

But the hiſtory of this reign, my dear Philip, yields other leſſons than thoſe of a ſpeculative morality; leſſons which come home to the breaſt of every Engliſhman, and which he ought to remember every moment of his exiſtence. It teaches us the moſt alarming of all political truths; "That abſolute deſpotiſm "may prevail in a ſtate, and yet the form of a free "conſtitution remain." Nay, it even leads us to a conjecture ſtill more intereſting to Britons, "That "in this country, an ambitious prince may moſt ſuc-"ceſsfully exerciſe his tyrannies under the ſhelter of "thoſe barriers which the conſtitution has placed as "the ſecurity of national freedom; of our lives, our "liberty, and our property."

Henry changed the national religion, and, in a great meaſure, the ſpirit of the laws of England. He perpetrated the moſt enormous violences againſt the firſt men in the kingdom: he loaded the people with oppreſſive taxes, and he pillaged them by loans, which it was known he never meant to repay; but he never attempted to aboliſh the parliament, or even to retrench any of its doubtful privileges. The parliament

ment was the prime miniſter of his tyrannical adminiſtration. It authoriſed his oppreſſive taxes, and abſolved him from the payment of his debts: it gave its ſanction to his moſt deſpotic and ſanguinary meaſures; to meaſures, which, of himſelf, he durſt not have carried into execution; or which, if ſuppoſed to be merely the reſult of his own arbitrary will, would have rouſed the ſpirit of the nation to aſſert the rights of humanity, and the privileges of a free people: and law would have been given to the tyrant's power, or ſome arm would have been found bold enough to rid the world of ſuch a ſcourge, by carrying vengeance to his heart.

LETTER LX.

A. D. 1547.

THE concluſion which I mean to draw from theſe facts and reaſonings is, and it deſerves our moſt ſerious attention, That the Britiſh conſtitution, though ſo happily poiſed, that no one part of it ſeems to preponderate; though ſo admirably conſtructed, that every one of the three eſtates is a check upon each of the other two, and both houſes of parliament upon the crown; though the moſt rational and perfect ſyſtem of freedom that human wiſdom has framed, it is no poſitive ſecurity againſt the deſpotiſm of an artful or tyrannical prince; and that, if Britons ſhould ever become ſlaves, ſuch an event is not likely to happen, as in France, by the abolition of our national aſſembly, but by the corruption of its members; by making that proud bulwark of our liberty, as in ancient Rome, the means of our ſlavery. Our admirable conſtitution is but a gay curtain to conceal our ſhame, and the iniquity of our oppreſſors, unleſs our ſenators are animated by the ſame ſpirit which gave it birth. If they can be overawed by threats, ſeduced from their duty by bribes, or allured by promiſes, another

Henry

PART I. Henry may rule us with a rod of iron, and drench once more the ſcaffold with the beſt blood of the nation: the parliament will be the humble and ſecure inſtrument of his tyrannies.

We muſt now, my dear Philip, return to the continent, where we left Charles V. attempting that deſpotiſm which Henry VIII. had accompliſhed.

LETTER LXI.

A General View of the Continent of EUROPE, *including the Progreſs of the* REFORMATION *in* GERMANY, *from the firſt Meeting of the* COUNCIL *of* TRENT, *in* 1546, *to the* PEACE *of* RELIGION *concluded at* PASSAU, *in* 1552.

LETTER LXI. IN conſequence of the reſolution of the emperor Charles V. to humble the Proteſtant princes, his chief motive, as has been obſerved, for concluding a diſadvantageous peace with Francis I. he ſent ambaſſadors to Conſtantinople, and concluded a diſhonourable truce
A. D. 1546. with Solyman. He ſtipulated, that his brother Ferdinand ſhould pay an annual tribute to the Porte for that part of Hungary which ſtill acknowledged his ſway, and that the ſultan ſhould retain the imperial and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the other[1]. Charles at the ſame time entered into an alliance with Paul III. the reigning pontiff, for the extirpation of hereſy; or, in other words, for oppreſſing the liberties of Germany, under pretence of maintaining the juriſdiction of the Holy See.

1. Barre, tom. viii. *Mem. de Ribier.*

MEAN-

LETTER LXI.

A D. 1546.

MEANWHILE a general council had been aſſembled at Trent, by the authority of the pope, in order to regulate the affairs of religion. But the Proteſtants, though they had appealed to a general council, refuſed to acknowledge the legality of this, which they were ſenſible was convoked to condemn, not to examine their opinions. The proceedings of the council confirmed them in this reſolution: they therefore renounced all connection with it; and as they had diſcovered the emperor's ambitious views, they began to prepare for their own defence.

THE emperor, whoſe ſchemes were not yet ripe for execution, though much chagrined at this obſtinacy, ſmothered his reſentment; and, in order to gain time, he attempted anew that diſſimulation which he had ſo often practiſed with ſucceſs. He aſſured, and endeavoured to perſuade the princes of the Smalkaldic league, that he had no deſign to abridge their religious liberty. It being impoſſible however, to conceal his military preparations, he declared, That he took arms, not in a ſpiritual, but in a civil quarrel; not to oppreſs thoſe who continued to behave as quiet and dutiful ſubjects, but to humble the arrogance of ſuch as had thrown off all ſenſe of that ſubordination in which they were placed under him, as the head of the Germanic body. But the ſubſtance of his treaty with the pope, coming to light, theſe artifices did not long impoſe on the greater and ſounder part of the Proteſtant confederacy. Its more intelligent members ſaw, that not only the ſuppreſſion of the reformed religion, but the extinction of the German liberties was intended; and as they determined neither to renounce thoſe ſacred truths, the knowledge of which they had attained by means ſo wonderful, nor to abandon thoſe

PART I. A. D. 1546.

those civil rights which had been transmitted to them from their ancestors, they had immediately recourse to arms [z].

In the meantime the death of Luther, their great apostle, threw the German Protestants into much consternation, and filled the Catholics with excessive and even indecent joy; neither party reflecting, that his opinions were now so firmly rooted, as to stand in no farther need of his fostering hand. The members of the Smalkaldic league were also discouraged by the little success of their negociations with foreign courts; having applied in vain for assistance, not only to the republic of Venice, and to the Swiss cantons, but to the kings of France and England. But they found at home no difficulty in bringing a sufficient force into the field.

Germany abounded at that time in inhabitants. The feudal institutions subsisted in full force, and enabled the nobles to call out their numerous vassals, and to put them in motion on the shortest warning. The martial spirit of the people not broken or enervated by the introduction of commerce and arts, had acquired additional vigour during the continual wars in which they had been employed, for half a century, either by the emperors or the kings of France. On every opportunity of entering upon action, they were accustomed to run eagerly to arms; and to every standard that was erected, volunteers flocked from all quarters. Zeal seconded on this occasion their native ardour. Men, on whom the doctrines of the Reformation had made that deep impression which accompanies truth when first discovered, prepared to maintain it with proportional courage; and among a warlike peo-

z. Sleid. Thuan. Father Paul.

ple, it appeared infamous to remain inactive, when the defence of religion and liberty were the motives for drawing the ſword. The confederates were therefore able, in a few weeks, to aſſemble an army of ſeventy thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, provided with every thing neceſſary for the operations of war 3.

THE emperor was in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a force: and had the Proteſtants immediately proceeded to hoſtilities, they might have dictated their own terms. But they imprudently negociated inſtead of acting, till Charles received ſupplies from Italy and the Low Countries. He ſtill, however, cautiouſly declined a battle, truſting that diſcord and the want of money would oblige the confederates to diſperſe. Meantime, he himſelf began to ſuffer from the want of forage and proviſions. Great numbers of his foreign troops, unaccuſtomed to the climate, or the food of Germany, were become unfit for ſervice; and it ſtill remained a doubtful point, whether his ſteadineſs was moſt likely to fail, or the zeal of the confederates to be exhauſted, when an unexpected event decided the conteſt, and occaſioned a fatal reverſe in their affairs.

SEVERAL of the Proteſtant princes, overawed by the emperor's power, had remained neutral; while others, allured by the proſpect of advantage, had voluntarily entered into his ſervice. Among the latter was Maurice marquis of Miſnia and Thuringia, of the houſe of Saxony; a man of bold ambition, extenſive views, and profound political talents. After many conferences with Charles, and his miniſters, he

3. Seckend. lib. iii. Thuan. lib. i.

PART I. A. D. 1546. concluded a treaty, by which he engaged to concur in aſſiſting the emperor as a faithful ſubject; and Charles, in return, ſtipulated to beſtow on him all the ſpoils of his relation and benefactor, the elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories.

THESE engagements, however, ſo contradictory to all that is juſt and honourable among men, Maurice was able to conceal, as they had been formed with the moſt myſterious ſecrecy. And ſo perfect a maſter was he in the art of diſſimulation, that the confederates, notwithſtanding his declining all connection with them, and his ſingular aſſiduity in paying court to the emperor, ſeem to have entertained no ſuſpicion of his deſigns!—The elector of Saxony, when he marched to join his aſſociates, even committed his dominions to the protection of Maurice, who undertook the charge with an inſidious appearance of friendſhip. But ſcarce had the confederates taken the field, when he began to conſult with the king of the Romans, how to invade thoſe dominions he had engaged to defend; and no ſooner did he receive a copy of the imperial ban denounced againſt his couſin and his father-in-law, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe, as leaders of the confederacy, than he ſuddenly entered one part of the electoral territories, at the head of twelve thouſand men, while Ferdinand with an army of Bohemians and Hungarians, overran the other[4].

THE news of this violent invaſion, and the ſucceſs of Maurice, who in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of the whole electorate of Saxony, except Wittemberg, Gotha, and Eiſenach, no ſooner reached the

4. Id. Ibid.

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camp of the confederates than they were filled with aſtoniſhment and terror. The elector immediately propoſed to return home with his troops, in order to recover his hereditary dominions; and his aſſociates forgetting, that it was the union of their forces which had hitherto rendered the confederacy formidable, and more than once obliged the Imperialiſts to think of quitting the field, conſented to his propoſal of dividing the army. A. D. 1546.

ULM, one of the chief cities of Suabia, highly diſtinguiſhed by its zeal for the Smalkaldic league, ſubmitted to the emperor. An example once ſet for deſerting the common cauſe, the reſt of the members became inſtantly impatient to follow it, and ſeemed afraid leſt others, by getting the ſtart of them in returning to their allegiance, ſhould on that account obtain more favourable terms. All the terms, however, were ſufficiently ſevere. Charles being in great want of money, not only impoſed heavy fines upon the princes and cities that had taken arms againſt him, but obliged them to deliver up their artillery and warlike ſtores, and to admit garriſons into their principal towns and places of ſtrength [5]. Thus a confederacy, ſo powerful lately as to ſhake the imperial throne, fell to pieces and was diſſolved in the ſpace of a few weeks; ſcarce any of the aſſociates now remaining in arms, except the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heſſe, whom the emperor was at no pains to reconcile, having marked them out as the victims of his vengeance. A. D. 1547.

MEANWHILE the elector having expelled the invaders from Saxony, not only recovered in a ſhort

5. Sleiden. Thuan. *Mem de Ribier.*

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time poſſeſſion of his own territories, but over-ran Miſnia, and ſtripped his rival of all that belonged to him, except Dreſden and Leipſic; while Maurice, obliged to abandon the field to ſuperior force, and to ſhut himſelf up in his capital, diſpatched courier after courier to the emperor, repreſenting his dangerous ſituation, and ſoliciting him with the moſt earneſt importunity to march immediately to his relief.

BUT many cauſes conſpired to prevent the emperor from inſtantly taking any effectual ſtep in favour of his ally. His army was diminiſhed by the departure of the Flemings, and by the number of garriſons which he had been obliged to throw into the towns that had capitulated; and the pope, now perceiving that ambition, not religion, was the chief motive of Charles's hoſtilities, had weakened the imperial army ſtill farther, by unexpectedly recalling his troops.

ALARMED at the rapid progreſs of Charles, Paul began to tremble, and not without reaſon, for the liberties of Italy. Francis alſo, the emperor's ancient rival, had obſerved with deep concern the humiliation of Germany, and was become ſenſible, that if ſome vigorous and timely effort was not made, Charles muſt ſoon acquire ſuch a degree of power as would enable him to give law to the reſt of Europe. He therefore reſolved to form ſuch a combination againſt the emperor as ſhould put a ſtop to his dangerous career. He according negociated for this purpoſe with Solyman II. with the pope, the Venetians, and with England. He encouraged the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe, by remitting them conſiderable ſums, to continue the ſtruggle for their liberties: he levied troops

troops in all parts of his dominions, and he contracted for a conſiderable body of Swiſs mercenaries [6]. LETTER LXI. A.D. 1547.

MEASURES ſo complicated could not eſcape the emperor's obſervation, nor fail to alarm him: and the news of a conſpiracy at Genoa, where Fieſco, count of Lavigna, an ambitious young nobleman, had almoſt overturned the government in one night, contributed yet farther to divert Charles from marching immediately into Saxony, as he was uncertain how ſoon he might be obliged to lead his forces into Italy. The politic Maurice, however, found means to ſave himſelf during this delay, by a pretended negociation with his injured kinſman; while the death of Francis I. which happened before he was able to carry any of his ſchemes into execution, together with the final extinction of Fieſco's conſpiracy, by the vigilance of the celebrated Andrew Doria, equally a friend to the emperor and the republic, encouraged Charles to act with vigour in Germany; more eſpecially as he foreſaw that Henry II. who had ſucceeded his father in the throne of France, though a prince of vigour and ability, would be ſo much occupied at home informing his new miniſtry, that he had nothing to fear for ſome time either from the negociations or perſonal efforts of that young monarch.

THIS interval of ſecurity the emperor ſeized to take vengeance on the elector and the landgrave; and as he was uncertain how long the calm might continue, he inſtantly marched into Saxony, at the head of ſixteen thouſand veterans. The elector's forces were more numerous, but they were divided. Charles did not allow them time to aſſemble. He attacked the

6. Id. ibid.

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main body at Mulhauſen, near Mulberg; defeated it after an obſtinate diſpute, and took the elector priſoner. The captive prince was immediately conducted to the emperor, whom he found ſtanding on the field of battle, in the full exultation of victory. The elector's behaviour, even in his preſent unfortunate and humbling condition, was alike equal, magnanimous, and decent. It was worthy of his gallant reſiſtance. He alike avoided a ſullen pride and a mean ſubmiſſion. "The fortune of war," ſaid he, "moſt gracious emperor, has made me your priſoner, and I hope to be "treated"—Here Charles rudely interrupted him:— "And am I then, at laſt, acknowledged to be empe- "ror? Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately "allowed me. You ſhall be treated as you deſerve!" turning from him with a haughty air. To this cruel repulſe the king of the Romans added reproaches in his own name, uſing expreſſions ſtill more harſh and inſulting. The elector made no reply; but with an unaltered countenance, which diſcovered neither aſtoniſhment nor dejection, accompanied the Spaniſh ſoldiers appointed to guard him [7].

THE emperor ſpeedily marched towards Wittemberg (the capital, in that age, of the electoral branch of the Saxon family) hoping that while the conſternation occaſioned by his victory was ſtill recent, the inhabitants would ſubmit as ſoon as he appeared before their walls. But Sybilla of Cleves, the elector's wife, a woman equally diſtinguiſhed by her virtue and abilities, inſtead of obeying the imperial ſummons, or abandoning herſelf to tears and lamentation on account of her huſband's misfortunes, animated the

7. Hortenſ. *de Bell. Germ.* Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book ix.

citizens

citizens by her example, as well as exhortation, to a vigorous defence; and Charles, finding that he could not ſuddenly reduce the place by force, had recourſe to means at once ungenerous and unwarlike, but more expeditious and certain. He ſummoned Sybilla a ſecond time to open the gates; informing her, that in caſe of refuſal, the elector ſhould anſwer with his head for her obſtinacy. And, in order to convince her that he was in earneſt, he brought his priſoner to an immediate trial, ſubjecting the greateſt prince in the empire to the juriſdiction of a court martial compoſed of Spaniſh and Italian officers; who founding their charge againſt him upon the imperial ban, a ſentence pronounced by the ſole authority of Charles, and deſtitute of every legal formality which could render it valid, preſumed the elector convicted of treaſon and rebellion, and condemned him to ſuffer death by being beheaded [8].

A.D. 1547.

FREDERIC was amuſing himſelf in playing at cheſs with his fellow-priſoner, Erneſt of Brunſwic, when this decree was intimated to him. He pauſed for a moment, though without any ſymptom of ſurprize or terror; and after taking notice of the irregularity as well as injuſtice of the proceedings againſt him, "It "is eaſy," ſaid he, "to comprehend the emperor's "ſcheme. I muſt die becauſe Wittemberg refuſes to "ſurrender: and I will lay down my life with plea-"ſure, if by that ſacrifice I can preſerve the dignity "of my houſe, and tranſmit to my poſterity the in-"heritance which I received from my anceſtors. "Heaven grant," continued he, "that this ſentence "may affect my wife and children no more than it "does me! that they may not, for the ſake of adding

8. Id. Ibid.

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"a few years to a life already too long, renounce ho-
"nours and territories which they were born to poſ-
"ſeſs!" He then turned to his antagoniſt, chal-
lenged him to continue the game, and played with his uſual attention and ingenuity [9].

It happened as the elector had feared: the account of his condemnation was not received with the ſame indifference at Wittemberg. Sybilla, who had ſupported with ſuch undaunted fortitude her huſband's misfortunes, while ſhe imagined his perſon was free from danger, felt all her reſolution fail, the moment his life was threatened. Anxious for his ſafety, ſhe deſpiſed every other conſideration; and was willing to make any ſacrifice, in order to appeaſe the rage of an incenſed conqueror. Meantime Charles, perceiving that the expedient he had tried began to produce the intended effect, fell by degrees from his former firmneſs, and allowed himſelf to ſoften into promiſes of clemency and forgiveneſs, if the elector would ſhew himſelf worthy of favour, by ſubmitting to certain conditions. Frederic, on whom the conſideration of what he himſelf might ſuffer had made no impreſſion, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved. He could not reſiſt the entreaties of his family. In compliance with their repeated ſolicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation, which he would otherwiſe have rejected with diſdain;—to reſign the electoral dignity, to put the imperial troops immediately in poſſeſſion of his capital, and to remain the emperor's priſoner. In return for theſe important conceſſions, the emperor promiſed, not only to ſpare his life, but to ſettle on him and his poſterity the city of Gotha and

9. Thuanus, lib. i.

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its territory, together with a revenue of fifty thouſand florins [10]. The Saxon electorate was inſtantly beſtowed upon Maurice. This ſacrifice, though with no ſmall reluctance, Charles was obliged to make; as it would neither have been ſafe nor prudent to violate his engagements with a warlike prince, whom he had ſeduced by ambitious hopes to abandon his natural allies, and whoſe friendſhip was ſtill neceſſary. LETTER LXI. A.D. 1547.

THE landgrave of Heſſe, Maurice's father-in-law, was ſtill in arms, but he thought no more of reſiſtance. Alarmed at the fate of the elector of Saxony, his only care was how to procure favourable terms from the emperor, whom he now viewed as a conqueror, to whoſe will there was a neceſſity of ſubmitting. Maurice encouraged this tame ſpirit, by magnifying Charles's power, and boaſting of his own intereſt with his victorious ally. The landgrave accordingly threw himſelf at the emperor's feet, after ratifying what terms he was pleaſed to impoſe, Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg being ſureties for his perſonal freedom. But his ſubmiſſion was no ſooner made, than Charles ordered him to be arreſted, and detained priſoner under the cuſtody of a Spaniſh guard; and when the elector and Maurice, filled with indignation at being made the inſtruments of deceiving and ruining their friend, repreſented the infamy to which they would be expoſed, unleſs the landgrave was ſet at liberty; that they were bound to procure his releaſe, having pledged their faith to that effect, and even engaged their own perſons as ſureties for his, the emperor, who no longer ſtood in need of their ſervices, coolly replied, that he was ignorant of their parti-

10. Du Mont, *Corps Diplom.* tom. iv.

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cular or private tranſactions with the landgrave, nor was his conduct to be regulated by theirs. "I know," added he, in a deciſive tone, "what I myſelf have "promiſed; for that alone I am anſwerable [11]." Theſe words put an end to the conference, and all future entreaties proved ineffectual.

CHARLES having now in his power the two greateſt princes of the empire, carried them about with him in triumph; and having humbled all whom he had not attached to his intereſt, proceeded to exerciſe the rights of a conqueror. He ordered his troops to ſeize the artillery and military ſtores of all who had been members of the Smalkaldic league; and he levied, by his ſole authority, large ſums, as well upon thoſe who had ſerved him with fidelity, as upon ſuch as had appeared in arms againſt him. Upon the former, as their contingent towards a war undertaken, as he pretended, for the common benefit; upon the latter, as a fine, by way of puniſhment for their rebellion. His brother Ferdinand tyrannized with ſtill more ſeverity over his Bohemian ſubjects, who had taken arms in ſupport of their civil and religious liberties: he ſtript them of all their ancient privileges, and loaded them with oppreſſive taxes [12].

THE good fortune, or as it has been called, the STAR of the houſe of Auſtria, was now at its height. The emperor having humbled, and, as he imagined, ſubdued the independent ſpirit of the Germans, ſummoned a diet to meet at Augſburg, "in order to com-"poſe finally the controverſies with regard to reli-"gion, which had ſo long diſturbed the empire;" or,

11. Thuanus, lib. iv. Struv. *Corps. Hiſt. Germ.* tom. ii. 12. Id, ibid.

in

in other words, to enſlave the minds of thoſe, whoſe perſons and properties were already at his diſpoſal. He durſt not, however, commit to the free ſuffrage of the Germans, broken as their ſpirit was by ſubjection, the determination of a matter ſo intereſting. He therefore entered the city at the head of his Spaniſh troops, and aſſigned them quarters there. He cantoned the reſt of his army in the adjacent villages; and he took poſſeſſion by force of the cathedral, together with one of the principal churches, where his prieſts re-eſtabliſhed with great pomp the rites of the Romiſh worſhip. Theſe preliminary ſteps being taken, in order to intimidate the members, and to make them acquainted with the emperor's pleaſure, he opened the diet with a ſpeech, in which he pointed out the fatal effects of the religious diſſenſions which had ariſen in Germany; exhorted them to recognize the authority of the general council, which he had taken ſo much pains to procure; and to ſtand the award of an aſſembly to which they had originally appealed, as having the ſole right of judgment in the caſe.

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But the council, to which Charles wiſhed to refer all controverſies, had undergone by this time a violent change. The ſame jealouſy, which had made the pope recall his troops, had alſo made him tranſlate the council to Bologna, a city ſubject to his own juriſdiction. The diet of Augſburg, over-awed by threats, and influenced by promiſes, petitioned the pope, at the emperor's deſire, in the name of the whole Germanic body, to enjoin the prelates who had retired to Bologna, to return again to Trent, and renew their deliberations in that place. But Paul eluded the demand. He made the fathers at Bologna, to whom he referred the petition of the diet, put a direct negative

PART I. A.D. 1547. negative upon the requeſt; and Charles, as he could no longer hope to acquire ſuch an aſcendant in the council as to render it ſubſervient to his ambitious aim, and to prevent the authority of ſo venerable an aſſembly from being turned againſt him, ſent two Spaniſh lawyers to Bologna, who, in preſence of the legates, proteſted, That the tranſlation of the council to that place had been unneceſſary, and founded on falſe, or frivolous pretexts; that while it continued to meet there, it ought to be deemed an unlawful and ſchiſmatical conventicle, and all its deciſions held null and void; and that as the pope, together with the corrupt eccleſiaſtics who depended upon him (thoſe who depended upon Charles having remained at Trent) had abandoned the care of the church, the emperor as its protector, would employ all the power which God had committed to him, in order to preſerve it from thoſe calamities with which it was threatened.

A.D. 1548.

In conſequence of this reſolution, Charles employed ſome divines of known abilities and learning to prepare a ſyſtem of doctrine, which he preſented to the diet, as what all ſhould conform to, "until a coun-"cil, ſuch as they wiſhed for, could be called." Hence the name INTERIM, by which this ſyſtem is known. It was conformable in almoſt every article to the tenets of the Romiſh church, and the Romiſh rites were enjoined; but all diſputed doctrines were expreſſed in the ſofteſt words, in ſcripture phraſes, or in terms of ſtudied ambiguity. In regard to two points only, ſome relaxation of popiſh rigour was granted, and ſome latitude in practice admitted. Such eccleſiaſtics as had married, and did not chuſe to part from their wives, were allowed nevertheleſs to perform their ſacred functions; and thoſe provinces

which had been accuſtomed to partake of the cup as well as of the bread in the communion, were ſtill indulged the privilege of receiving both [13]. LETTER LXI. A. D. 1548.

THIS treatiſe being read in preſence of the members, according to form, the archbiſhop of Mentz, preſident of the electoral college, roſe up haſtily, as ſoon as it was finiſhed, and having thanked the emperor for his unwearied endeavours to reſtore peace to the church, ſignified, in the name of the diet, their approbation of the ſyſtem of doctrine which his imperial majeſty had prepared, together with their reſolution of conforming to it in every particular; and although the whole aſſembly was amazed at a declaration ſo unprecedented and unconſtitutional, as well as at the elector's preſumption, in pretending to deliver the ſenſe of the diet upon a point which had not hitherto been the ſubject of conſultation or debate, not one member had the courage to contradict what he had ſaid. Charles therefore held the archbiſhop's declaration to be a ratification of the *Interim*, and prepared to enforce the obſervance of it as a decree of the empire [14].

THE Interim was accordingly publiſhed, immediately after the diſſolution of the diet, in the German as well as in the Latin language; but, like all conciliating ſchemes propoſed to men heated by diſputation, it pleaſed neither party. The Proteſtants thought it granted too little indulgence; the Catholics, too much: both were diſſatisfied. The emperor, however, fond of his plan, adhered to his reſolution of carrying it into execution. But this proved one of

13. Father Paul, lib. iii. Goldaſt. *Conſt. Imp.* vol. i.
14. Id. Ibid.

the

PART I. A. D. 1548.

the moſt difficult and dangerous undertakings in his reign; for although three Proteſtant princes, Maurice, the elector Palatine, and the elector of Brandenburg, agreed to receive the Interim, ſeveral others remonſtrated againſt it: and the free cities, with one voice, joined in refuſing to admit it, till force taught them ſubmiſſion. Augſburg and Ulm being barbarouſly ſtript of their privileges, on account of their oppoſition, many other cities feigned compliance. But this obedience, extorted by the rigour of authority, produced no change in the ſentiments of the Germans. They ſubmitted with reluctance to the power that oppreſſed them; and although for a time they concealed their reſentment, it was daily gathering force, and ſoon broke forth with a violence that ſhook the imperial throne.

In this moment of general ſubmiſſion it is worthy of remark, that the elector of Saxony, though the emperor's priſoner, and tempted both by threats and promiſes, refuſed to lend his ſanction to the Interim. His reaſons were thoſe of a philoſopher, not of a bigot. After declaring his fixed belief in the doctrines of the Reformation, "I cannot now," ſaid he, "in my old "age, abandon the principles for which I early con- "tended; nor, in order to procure freedom during a "few declining years, will I betray that good cauſe, "on account of which I have ſuffered ſo much, and "am ſtill willing to ſuffer: better for me to enjoy, "in this ſolitude, the eſteem of virtuous men, toge- "ther with the approbation of my own conſcience, "than to return into the world with the imputation "and guilt of apoſtacy, to diſgrace and imbitter the "remainder of my days [15]!"

15. Slid. p. 462. Robertſon, *Charles V.* book ix.

THE

LETTER LXI.

A. D. 1548.

THE contents of the Interim were no ſooner known at Rome, than the members of the ſacred college were filled with rage and indignation. They exclaimed againſt the emperor's profane encroachment on the ſacerdotal function, in preſuming, with the concurrence of an aſſembly of laymen, to define articles of faith, and regulate modes of worſhip. They compared this raſh deed to that of Uzzah, who, with an unhallowed hand, had touched the ark of God. But the pope, whoſe judgment was improved by longer experience in great tranſactions, and more extenſive obſervation of human affairs, though diſpleaſed at the emperor's encroachment on his juriſdiction, viewed the matter with more indifference. He perceived that Charles, by joining any one of the contending parties in Germany, might have had it in his power to have cruſhed the other, but that the preſumption of ſucceſs had now inſpired him with the vain thought of being able to domineer over both; and he foreſaw that a ſyſtem, which all attacked and none defended, could not be of long duration [16]. He was more ſenſibly affected by the emperor's political meaſures, and his own domeſtic concerns.

CHARLES, as I have already had occaſion to notice, had married Margaret of Auſtria, his natural daughter, to Octavio Farneſe, the pope's grandſon. On his own ſon Lewis, Octavio's father, whoſe aggrandiſement he had ſincerely at heart, Paul beſtowed the duchies of Parma and Placentia, then part of St. Peter's Patrimony. But the emperor, leſs fond of aggrandiſing his daughter, whoſe children were to ſucceed to the inheritance, refuſed to grant to Lewis the inveſtiture of thoſe territories, under pretence that

16. Father Paul, lib. iii. Palavacini, lib. ii.

they

PART I. A. D. 1548.

they were appendages of the duchy of Milan. Enraged at ſuch ungenerous conduct, the pope undertook to beſtow himſelf that inveſtiture which he craved, and the emperor perſiſted in refuſing to confirm the deed. Hence a ſecret enmity took place between Paul and Charles, but one ſtill ſtronger between Charles and Lewis. To complete the pope's misfortunes Lewis became one of the moſt deteſtable tyrants that ever diſgraced human nature, and juſtly fell a ſacrifice to his own crimes, and to the injuries of his oppreſſed ſubjects. Gonzaga, governor of Milan, who had watched for ſuch an opportunity, and even abetted the conſpirators, immediately took poſſeſſion of Placentia, in the emperor's name, and reinſtated the inhabitants in their ancient privileges. The Imperialiſts likewiſe attempted to ſurpriſe Parma, but were diſappointed by the vigilance and fidelity of the garriſon [17].

PAUL was deeply afflicted for the loſs of a ſon, whom, notwithſtanding his vices, he loved with an exceſs of parental affection, and immediately demanded of the emperor the puniſhment of Gonzaga, and the reſtitution of Placentia to his grandſon Octavio, its rightful heir. But Charles evaded both demands: he choſe rather to bear the infamy of defrauding his own ſon-in-law of his patrimonial inheritance, and even to expoſe himſelf to the imputation of being acceſſary to the crime which had given an opportunity of ſeizing it, than quit a poſſeſſion of ſuch value. An ambition ſo rapacious, and which no conſiderations either of decency or juſtice could reſtrain, tranſported Paul beyond his uſual moderation. Eager to take arms againſt the emperor, but conſci-

17. Thuanus, lib. iv. *Mem. de Ribier.*

LETTER LXI.

ous of his own inability to contend with ſuch an enemy, he warmly ſolicited the king of France and the republic of Venice to take part in his quarrel; but finding all his negociations ineffectual, he endeavoured to acquire by policy what he could not recover by force. Upon a ſuppoſition that Charles would not dare to detain the poſſeſſions of the Holy See, he propoſed to reunite to it Parma and Placentia, by recalling his grant of Parma from Octavio, whom he could indemnify in the meantime for the loſs, by a new eſtabliſhment in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and by demanding Placentia from the emperor, as part of the patrimony of the church. But while Paul was priding himſelf in this happy device, Octavio, an ambitious and high-ſpirited young man, having little faith in ſuch a refinement in policy, and not chuſing to abandon certainty for hope, applied to the emperor to protect him in his duchy [18]. A.D. 1549.

THIS unexpected defection of one of his own family, of the grandſon whoſe fortune it had been the care of his declining years to build; to an enemy whom he hated, agitated the venerable pontiff beyond his ſtrength, and is ſaid to have occaſioned that illneſs of which he ſoon after died [19].—An hiſtorian more ſprightly than profound, and more keen than candid, has here affected to raiſe a ſmile, that "any other "cauſe than *old age* ſhould be aſſigned for the death "of *a man of fourſcore* [20];" and a more reſpectable hiſtorian, one equally elegant and learned, and no leſs intelligent than judicious, has taken much pains to prove, that the pope's "diſeaſe was the *natural* effect

18. Thuanus, lib. vi. Palav. lib. ii.
19. Id. ibid.
20. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Gen.*

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"of *old age*, not one of thoſe occaſioned by *violence of* "*paſſion* [21]."—But both allow that Paul was *violently* affected, when informed of Octavio's undutiful conduct; and the latter informs us, That "he was "ſeized with ſuch a *tranſport of paſſion*, and *cried* ſo "*bitterly*, that his voice was heard in ſeveral apart-"ments of the palace;" that "his mind was *irritated* "*almoſt to madneſs* [22]." And *weak* and *credulous* as ſome hiſtorians may be, and fond of "attributing the "death of illuſtrious perſons to *extraordinary* cauſes," — there is ſurely nothing extraordinary in ſuppoſing, that *mental irritation* and *bitter crying* might occaſion a *catarrh*, the diſtemper of which the pope died, or *a violent tranſport of paſſion* increaſe the *natural* imbecility of *old age*, and haſten *a man of fourſcore* to the grave. It is more extraordinary, how violently ſome great men, from a deſire of being thought ſuperior to vulgar prejudices, will ſtruggle againſt common ſenſe.

A.D. 1550.

PAUL was ſucceeded in the papacy by the cardinal de Monte, who had been employed as principal legate in the council of Trent, and owed his election to the Farneſe party. He aſſumed the name of Julius III. and, in order to expreſs his gratitude towards his benefactors, he put Octavio Farneſe in poſſeſſion of Parma, which had been delivered up to his predeceſſor. "I would rather," replied he, when told what injury he did the Holy See by alienating a territory of ſuch value, "be a poor pope with the reputation of a "gentleman, than a rich one with the infamy of hav-"ing forgot the obligations conferred upon me, and "the promiſes I made [23]." He diſcovered leſs incli-

21. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charls V.* book x. 22. Id. ibid.
23. *Mem. de Ribier.*

nation,

nation, however, to obſerve the oath which each cardinal had taken when he entered the conclave, that if the choice ſhould fall on him, he would immediately call the general council to reſume its deliberations. He knew, by experience, how difficult it was to confine the inquiries, or even the deciſions of ſuch a body of men, within the narrow limits which it was the intereſt of the court of Rome to preſcribe. But as the emperor perſiſted in his reſolution of forcing the Proteſtants to return into the boſom of the church, and earneſtly ſolicited that a council might be called, in order to combat their prejudices, and ſupport his pious intentions, Julius could not with decency reject his requeſt; and, willing to aſſume to himſelf the merit of a meaſure become neceſſary, and alſo to ingratiate himſelf more particularly with Charles, he pretended to move, and to deliberate on the matter, and afterwards iſſued a bull for the council to re-aſſemble at Trent [24]. A.D. 1550.

MEANWHILE the emperor held a diet at Augſburg, in order to enforce the obſervation of the Interim, and to procure a more authentic act of the empire, acknowledging the juriſdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promiſe of conforming to its decrees. And ſuch abſolute aſcendency had Charles acquired over the members of the Germanic body, that he procured a Receſs, in which the authority of the council was recognized, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which afflicted the church. The obſervation of the Interim was more ſtrictly enjoined than ever; and the emperor threatened all who had hitherto neglected, or refuſed to conform to it, with

24. Father Paul, lib. iii.

PART I. A. D. 1550.

the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance, if they perſiſted in their diſobedience.

During the meeting of this diet, a new attempt was made to procure liberty to the landgrave. Nowiſe reconciled by time to his condition, he grew every day more impatient of reſtraint; and having often applied to his ſureties, Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg, who took every opportunity of ſoliciting the emperor in his behalf, though without effect, he now commanded his ſons to ſummon them, with legal formality, to perform their engagements, by ſurrendering themſelves to be treated as the emperor had treated him. Thus puſhed to extremity, the ſureties renewed their application to Charles. Reſolved not to grant their requeſt, but anxious to get rid of their inceſſant importunity, the emperor endeavoured to prevail on the landgrave to give up the obligation which he had received from them; and when that prince refuſed to part with a ſecurity which he deemed eſſential to his ſafety, Charles, by a ſingular act of deſpotiſm, cut the knot which he could not untie. As if faith, honour, and conſcience had been ſubjected to his ſway, he, by a public deed annulled the bond which Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg had granted, and abſolved them from all their obligations to the landgrave [25]! A power of cancelling thoſe ſolemn contracts which are the foundation of that mutual confidence whereby men are held together in ſocial union, was never claimed by the moſt deſpotic princes or arrogating prieſts of heathen antiquity: that enormous uſurpation was reſerved for the Roman pontiffs, who had rendered themſelves odious by the exerciſe of ſuch a pernicious prerogative; all Ger-

A. D. 1551.

25. Thuanus, lib. vi.

many

many was therefore filled with aſtoniſhment, when Charles aſſumed the ſame right. The princes who had hitherto contributed to his aggrandiſement, began to tremble for their own ſafety, and to take meaſures for preventing the danger. LETTER LXI. A.D. 1551.

THE firſt check which Charles met with in his ambitious projects, and which convinced him that the Germans were not yet ſlaves, was in his attempt to tranſmit the empire, as well as the kingdom of Spain, and his dominions in the Low Countries, to his ſon Philip. He had formerly aſſiſted his brother Ferdinand in obtaining the dignity of king of the Romans; and that prince had not only ſtudied to render himſelf acceptable to the people, but had a ſon, who was born in Germany, grown up to the years of manhood, and who poſſeſſed in an eminent degree ſuch qualities as rendered him the darling of his countrymen. The emperor, however, warmed with contemplating this vaſt deſign, flattered himſelf, that it was not impoſſible to prevail on the electors to cancel their former choice of Ferdinand, or at leaſt to elect Philip a ſecond king of the Romans, ſubſtituting him as next in ſucceſſion to his uncle. With this view he took Philip, who had been educated in Spain, along with him to the diet at Augſburg, that the Germans might have an opportunity to obſerve and become acquainted with the prince in whoſe behalf he ſolicited their intereſt; but no ſooner was the propoſal made known, than all the electors, the eccleſiaſtical as well as ſecular, concurred in expreſſing ſuch ſtrong diſapprobation of the meaſure, that Charles was obliged to drop his project as impracticable[25]. They foreſaw, that by continuing the imperial crown, like an here-

25. Id Ibid. *Mem. de Ribier.*

PART I. A. D. 1551.

ditary dignity, in the ſame family, they ſhould give the ſon an opportunity of carrying on that ſyſtem of oppreſſion, which the father had begun, and put it in his power to overturn whatever was yet left entire in the ancient and venerable fabric of the German conſtitution.

THIS plan of domeſtic ambition, which had long engroſſed his thoughts, being laid aſide, Charles imagined he ſhould now have leiſure to turn all his attention towards his grand ſcheme of eſtabliſhing uniformity of religion in the empire, by forcing all the contending parties to acquieſce in the deciſions of the council of Trent. But the machine which he had to conduct was ſo great and complicated, that an unforeſeen irregularity, or obſtruction in one of the inferior wheels, often diſconcerted the motion of the whole, and diſappointed him of the effect which he depended upon with moſt confidence. Such an unlooked-for occurrence now happened, and created new obſtacles againſt the execution of his plan in regard to religion.

THOUGH Julius III. during the firſt effuſions of joy and gratitude on his promotion to the papal throne, had confirmed Octavio Farneſe in the poſſeſſion of the duchy of Parma, he ſoon began to repent of his generoſity. The emperor ſtill retained poſſeſſion of Placentia; and Gonzaga, governor of Milan, a ſworn enemy to the family of Farneſe, was preparing, by Charles's permiſſion, to make himſelf maſter of Parma. Octavio ſaw his danger; and ſenſible of his inability to defend himſelf againſt the imperial troops, he applied to the pope for protection, as a vaſſal of the Holy See. But the imperial miniſter having already

pre-

pre-ocupied the ear of Julius, Octavio's petition met with a cold reception. Deſpairing therefore of ſupport from his Holineſs, he began to look elſewhere for aſſiſtance: and Henry II. of France, the only prince powerful enough to protect him, was fortunately in a ſituation to lend him that aſſiſtance. LETTER LXI. A. D. 1551.

HAVING not only ſettled his own domeſtic concerns, but brought his tranſactions with the two Britiſh kingdoms which had hitherto diverted his attention from the affairs of the continent, to ſuch an iſſue as he deſired, Henry was at full leiſure to purſue the meaſures which his hereditary jealouſy of the emperor's power naturally ſuggected. He accordingly liſtened to the overtures of Octavio; and, glad of an opportunity of regaining footing in Italy, furniſhed him with what aſſiſtance he deſired.

THE war of Parma, where the French took the field as the allies of the duke, and the imperialiſts as the protectors of the Holy See, the pope having declared Octavio's fief forfeited, was diſtinguiſhed by no memorable event; but the alarm which it occaſioned in Italy, prevented moſt of the Italian prelates from repairing to Trent on the day appointed for re-aſſembling the council, ſo that the legate and nuncios found it neceſſary to adjourn to a future day, hoping that ſuch a number might then aſſemble, as would enable them in decency to begin their deliberations. When that day came, the French ambaſſador demanded audience, and proteſted in his maſter's name, againſt an aſſembly called at ſuch an improper juncture; when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, made it impoſſible for the deputies from the Gallican

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church to reſort to Trent in ſafety, or to deliberate concerning articles of faith and diſcipline with the requiſite tranquillity. He declared, That Henry did not acknowledge this to be a general œcumenic council, but muſt conſider and would treat it as a particular and partial convention [27].

THAT declaration gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the commencement of its deliberations. The legate, however, affected to deſpiſe Henry's proteſt; the prelates proceeded to determine the great points in controverſy concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, penance, and extreme unction; and the emperor ſtrained his authority to the utmoſt, in order to eſtabliſh the reputation and juriſdiction of that aſſembly. The Proteſtants were prohibited to teach any doctrine contrary to its decrees or to the tenets of the Romiſh church; and on their refuſing compliance, their paſtors were ejected and exiled; ſuch magiſtrates as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their attachment to the new opinions were diſmiſſed; their offices were filled with the moſt bigotted of their adverſaries; and the people were compelled to attend the miniſtration of prieſts whom they regarded as idolaters, and to ſubmit to the authority of rulers, whom they deteſted as uſurpers [28].

THESE tyrannical meaſures fully opened the eyes of Maurice of Saxony and other Lutheran princes, who, allured by the promiſe of liberty of conſcience, and the proſpect of farther advantages, had aſſiſted the emperor in the war againſt the confederates of Smalkalde,

27. Father Paul, lib. iv. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book x.
28. Id. Ibid.

Maurice,

Maurice, in particular, who had long beheld with jealous concern the uſurpations of Charles, now ſaw the neceſſity of ſetting bounds to them; and he who had perfidiouſly ſtript his neareſt relation and benefactor of his hereditary poſſeſſions, and been chiefly inſtrumental in bringing to the brink of ruin the civil and religious liberties of his country, became the deliverer of Germany. LETTER LXI. A. D. 1551.

THE policy with which Maurice conducted himſelf in the execution of his deſign was truly admirable. He was ſo perfect a maſter of addreſs and diſſimulation, that he retained the emperor's confidence, while he recovered the good opinion of the Proteſtants. As he knew Charles to be inflexible with reſpect to the ſubmiſſion which he required to the Interim, he did not heſitate a moment whether he ſhould eſtabliſh that form of doctrine and worſhip in his dominions: he even undertook to reduce to obedience the citizens of Magdeburg, who perſiſted in rejecting it; and he was choſen general, by a diet aſſembled at Augſburg, of the imperial army levied for that purpoſe. But he, at the ſame time, iſſued a declaration, containing profeſſions of his zealous attachment to the reformed religion, as well as of his reſolution to guard againſt all the errors and encroachments of the papal ſee; and he entered his proteſt againſt the authority of the council of Trent, unleſs the Proteſtant divines had a full hearing granted them, and were allowed a deciſive voice in that aſſembly; unleſs the pope renounced his pretenſions to preſide in it, ſhould engage to ſubmit to its decrees, and to abſolve the biſhops from their oath of obedience, that they might deliver their ſentiments with greater freedom. He reduced Magdeburg, after a ſiege of twelve months; protracted by deſign, in order

that

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that his ſchemes might be ripened before his army was diſbanded [29]. The public articles of capitulation were perfectly conformable to the emperor's views, and ſufficiently ſevere. But Maurice gave the magiſtrates ſecret aſſurances that their city ſhould not be diſmantled, and that the inhabitants ſhould neither be diſturbed in the exerciſe of their religion, nor deprived of any of their ancient privileges; and they, in their turn, elected him their burgrave, a dignity which had formerly belonged to the electoral houſe of Saxony, and which entitled its poſſeſſor to very ample juriſdiction both in the city and its dependencies.

FAR from ſuſpecting any thing fraudulent or colluſive in the terms of accommodation, the emperor ratified them without heſitation, freely abſolving the Magdeburgers from the ſentence of ban denounced againſt them; and Maurice, under various pretences, kept his veteran troops in pay, while Charles, engaged in directing the affairs of the council, entertained no apprehenſion of his deſigns. But, previous to the unfolding of theſe deſigns, ſome account muſt be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little toward the extraordinary ſucceſs of Maurice's operations.

WHEN Solyman deprived the young king of Hungary of the dominions which his father had left him, he granted that unfortunate prince, as has been already related, the country of Tranſylvania, a province of his paternal kingdom. The government of this province, together with the care of educating the infant king, (for the ſultan ſtill allowed him to retain that

29. Sebaſt. Beſſelm. *Obſid. Magdeb.* Arnoldi, *Vit. Maurit.*

title)

title) was committed to Iſabella, the queen-mother, and Martinuzzi biſhop of Waradin, whom the late king of Hungary had appointed his ſon's guardians, and regents of his dominions. This co-ordinate juriſdiction occaſioned the ſame diſſenſions in a ſmall principality, which it would have excited in a great monarchy. The queen and biſhop grew jealous of each other's authority: both had their partizans amongſt the nobility; but as Martinuzzi, by his ſuperior talents, began to acquire the aſcendant, Iſabella courted the protection of the Turks. The politic prelate ſaw his danger; and, through the mediation of ſome of the nobles, who were ſolicitous to ſave their country from the calamities of civil war, he concluded an agreement with the queen. But he, at the ſame time, ſecretly diſpatched one of his confidants to Vienna, and entered into a negociation with the king of the Romans, whom he offered to aſſiſt in expelling the Turks, and in recovering poſſeſſion of the Hungarian throne.

ALLURED by ſuch a flattering proſpect, Ferdinand agreed, notwithſtanding his truce with Solyman, to invade the principality of Tranſilvania. The troops deſtined for that ſervice, conſiſting of veteran Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, were commanded by Caſtaldo marquis de Piadena, an officer of great knowledge in the art of war, who was powerfully ſeconded by Martinuzzi and his faction among the Hungarians; and the ſultan being then at the head of his forces on the borders of Perſia, the Turkiſh baſhas could not afford the queen ſuch immediate or effectual aſſiſtance as the exigency of her affairs required. She was therefore obliged to liſten to ſuch conditions as ſhe would at any other time have rejected with diſdain.

She

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She agreed to give up Tranſilvania to Ferdinand, and to make over to him her ſon's title to the crown of Hungary, in exchange for the principalities of Oppelen and Ratibor in Sileſia, for which ſhe immediately ſet out.

Martinuzzi, as the reward of his ſervices, was appointed governor of Tranſilvania, with almoſt unlimited authority: and he proved himſelf worthy of it. He conducted the war againſt the Turks with equal ability and ſucceſs: he recovered ſome places, of which they had taken poſſeſſion; he rendered their attempts to reduce others abortive; and he eſtabliſhed the dominion of the king of the Romans not only in Tranſilvania, but in ſeveral of the adjacent countries. Always, however, afraid of the talents of Martinuzzi, Ferdinand now became jealous of his power; and Caſtaldo, by imputing to the governor deſigns which he never formed, and charging him with actions of which he was not guilty, at laſt convinced the king of the Romans, that in order to preſerve his Hungarian crown, he muſt cut off that ambitious prelate. The fatal mandate was accordingly iſſued: Caſtaldo willingly undertook to execute it: Martinuzzi was aſſaſſinated. But Ferdinand, inſtead of the ſecurity which he expected from that barbarous meaſure, found his Hungarian territories only expoſed to more certain danger. The nobles, deteſting ſuch jealous and cruel policy, either retired to their own eſtates, or grew cold in the ſervice, if they continued with the Auſtrian army; while the Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whoſe vigour and abilities they dreaded, prepared to renew hoſtilities with freſh vigour [30].

30. Iſtuanhaffi, *Hiſt. Reg. Hung.* lib. xvi. *Mem. de Ribier.* tom. ii.

Maurice,

LETTER LXI.

MAURICE, in the meantime, having almoſt finiſhed his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of taking the field againſt the emperor. He had concluded a treaty with Henry II. of France, who wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf, by trying his ſtrength againſt the ſame enemy, whom it had been the glory of his father's reign to oppoſe. But as it would have been indecent in a popiſh prince to undertake the defence of the Proteſtant church, the intereſts of religion, how-much ſoever they might be affected by the treaty, were not once mentioned in any of the articles. The only motives aſſigned for now leaguing againſt Charles were, to procure the Landgrave liberty, and to prevent the ſubverſion of the ancient conſtitution and laws of the German empire. Religious concerns the confederates pretended to commit entirely to the care of Providence. A. D. 1551.

HAVING ſecured the protection of the French monarch, Maurice proceeded with great confidence, but equal caution, to execute his plan. As he judged it neceſſary to demand once more, before he took off the maſk, that the Landgrave ſhould be ſet at liberty, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy, in which moſt of the German princes joined, to the emperor at Inſpruck, in order to enforce his requeſt. Conſtant to his ſyſtem in regard to the captive prince, Charles eluded the demand, though urged by ſuch powerful interceſſors. But this application, though of no benefit to the Landgrave, was of infinite ſervice to Maurice. It ſerved to juſtify his ſubſequent proceedings, and to demonſtrate the neceſſity of taking arms, in order to extort that equitable conceſſion, which his mediation or entreaty could not obtain. He accordingly diſpatched Albert of Brandenburg to Paris, to haſten the march A. D. 1552.

of

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of the French army: he took meaſures to bring his own troops together on the firſt ſummons; and he provided for the ſecurity of Saxony, while he ſhould be abſent.

ALL theſe complicated operations were carried on with ſo much ſecrecy, as to elude the obſervation of Charles, whoſe ſagacity in obſerving the conduct of all around him, commonly led him to exceſs of diſtruſt. He remained in perfect tranquillity at Inſpruck, ſolely occupied in counteracting the intrigues of the pope's legate at Trent, and in ſettling the conditions on which the Proteſtant divines ſhould be admitted into the council. Even Granville, biſhop of Arras, his prime miniſter, though one of the moſt ſubtle ſtateſmen of that, or perhaps of any age, was deceived by the exquiſite addreſs with which Maurice concealed his deſigns. "A drunken German head," replied he to the duke of Alva's ſuſpicions, concerning the elector's ſincerity, "is too groſs to form any "ſcheme which I cannot eaſily penetrate and baffle." Granville was on this occaſion, however, the dupe of his own artifice. He had bribed two of Maurice's miniſters, on whoſe information he depended for their maſter's intentions; but that prince having fortunately diſcovered their perfidy, inſtead of puniſhing them for their crime dexterouſly availed himſelf of the fraud. He affected to treat theſe miniſters with greater confidence than ever: he admitted them into his conſultations, and ſeemed to lay open his heart to them; but he took care all the while to make them acquainted with nothing but what it was his intereſt ſhould be known, and they tranſmitted to Inſpruck ſuch

ſuch accounts as lulled the crafty Granville in ſecurity [31].

At laſt Maurice's preparations were completed: and he had the ſatisfaction to find, that his intrigues and deſigns were ſtill unknown. But although ready to take the field, he did not yet lay aſide the arts he had hitherto employed. Pretending to be indiſpoſed, he diſpatched one of the miniſters whom Granville had bribed, to inform the emperor, that he meant ſoon to wait upon him at Inſpruck, and to apologize for his delay [32]. In the mean time he aſſembled his army, which amounted to twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, publiſhing at the ſame time a manifeſto, containing his reaſons for taking arms; namely, to ſecure the Proteſtant religion, to maintain the German conſtitution, and deliver the Landgrave of Heſſe from the miſeries of a long and unjuſt impriſonment. To this the king of France, in his own name, added a manifeſto, in which he aſſumed the extraordinary appellation of *Protector of the Liberties of Germany and its captive Princes* [33].

No words can expreſs the emperor's aſtoniſhment at events ſo unexpected. He was not in a condition to oppoſe ſuch formidable enemies. His embarraſſment increaſed their confidence: their operations were equally bold and ſucceſsful. The king of France immediately entered Lorrain, made himſelf maſter of Toul, Verdun, and Metz; while Maurice, no leſs intrepid and enterpriſing in the field than cautious and crafty in the cabinet, traverſed all Upper Germany, every where reinſtating the magiſtrates whom Charles had depoſed, and putting the ejected Proteſtant miniſters in poſſeſſion of the churches.

31. Melvil's *Memoirs*. 32. Ibid. 33. *Mem de Ribier*, tom. ii.

THE

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THE emperor had recourſe to negociation, the only reſource of the weak; and Maurice, conſcious of his own political talents, and willing to manifeſt a pacific diſpoſition, agreed to an interview with the king of the Romans, in the town of Lintz, in Auſtria, leaving his army to proceed on its march, under the command of the duke of Mecklenburg. Nothing was determined in the conference at Lintz, except that another ſhould be held at Paſſau. Meanwhile Maurice continued his operations with vigour. He marched directly towards Inſpruck; and hoping to ſurpriſe the emperor in that open town, he advanced with the moſt rapid motion that could be given to ſo great a body of men, forcing ſeveral ſtrong paſſes and bearing down all reſiſtance.

CHARLES was happily informed of his danger a few hours before the enemy's arrival; and although the night was far advanced, dark, and rainy, he immediately fled over the Alps in a litter, being ſo much afflicted with the gout as to be incapable of any other mode of travelling. Enraged that his prey ſhould eſcape him, when he was juſt on the point of ſeizing it, Maurice purſued the emperor and his attendants ſome miles; but finding it impoſſible to overtake men, whoſe flight was haſtened by fear, he returned to Inſpruck, and abandoned the emperor's baggage to the pillage of his ſoldiers [34]. Meantime Charles purſued his journey, and arrived in ſafety at Villach in Carinthia, where he continued till matters were finally ſettled with the Proteſtant princes.

IN conſequence of Maurice's operations, the council of Trent broke up. The German prelates, anxious for the ſafety of their territories, returned home; the reſt were extremely impatient to be gone; and the le-

34. Arnoldi, *Vit. Maurit.*

gate

gate, who had hitherto diſappointed all the endeavours of the imperial ambaſſadors to procure the Proteſtant divines an audience in the council, gladly laid hold on ſuch a plauſible pretext for diſmiſſing an aſſembly, which he had found it ſo difficult to govern [35]. The breach which had unhappily been made in the church, inſtead of being cloſed, was widened; and all mankind were made ſenſible of the inefficacy of a general council for reconciling the contending parties. LETTER LXI. A. D. 1552.

THE victorious Maurice repaired to Paſſau, on the day appointed for his ſecond conference with the king of the Romans; and as matters of the greateſt conſequence to the future peace and independency of the empire were then to be agitated, thither reſorted the miniſters of all the electors, together with deputies from moſt of the conſiderable princes and free cities. The elector limited his demand to three articles ſet forth in his manifeſto; namely, the liberty of the Landgrave, the public exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient conſtitution of Germany.

THESE demands appearing extravagant to the imperial ambaſſadors, they were preſented by Ferdinand to the emperor in perſon, at Villach, in the name of all the princes of the empire, Popiſh as well as Proteſtant; in the name of ſuch as had aſſiſted in forwarding his ambitious ſchemes, as well as of thoſe who had viewed the progreſs of his power with jealouſy and dread. Unwilling, however, to forego at once objects which he had long purſued with ardour and hope, Charles, notwithſtanding his need of peace, was deaf to the united voice of Germany. He rejected

35. Father Paul, lib. iv.

PART I. the proffered terms with diſdain; and Maurice, well acquainted with the emperor's arts, ſuſpecting that he
A.D. 1552. meant only to amuſe and deceive by a ſhew of negociation, immediately rejoined his troops, and laid ſiege
July 17. to Frankfort on the Maine. This meaſure had the deſired effect. Firm and haughty as his nature was, Charles found it neceſſary to make conceſſions; and Maurice thought it more prudent to accept of conditions leſs advantageous than thoſe he had propoſed, than again commit all to the doubtful iſſue of war [36]. He therefore repaired once more to Paſſau, renewed the congreſs, and concluded a peace on the following terms:—"The confederates ſhall lay down their "arms before the 12th day of Auguſt; the Land-"grave ſhall be ſet at liberty, on or before that day; "a diet ſhall be held within ſix months, in order to "deliberate concerning the moſt effectual method of "preventing for the future all diſſenſions concerning "religion; in the mean time, no injury ſhall be offer-"ed to ſuch as adhere to the Confeſſion of Augſburg, "nor ſhall the Catholics be moleſted in the exerciſe "of their religion; the imperial chamber ſhall admi-"niſter juſtice impartially to perſons of both parties, "and Proteſtants be admitted indiſcriminately with "Catholics to ſit as judges in that court; the en-"croachments ſaid to have been made upon the con-"ſtitution and liberties of Germany, ſhall be remit-"ted to the conſideration of the approaching diet of "the empire; and if that diet ſhould not be able to "terminate the diſputes reſpecting religion, the ſtipu-"lations in the preſent treaty in behalf of the Proteſ-"tants, ſhall continue for ever in full force [37]."

36. Thuanus, lib. x.

37. *Recueil de Traitez*, tom. ii.

LETTER LXI.

A. D. 1552.

Such, my dear Philip, was the memorable treaty of Paſſau, which ſet limits to the authority of Charles V. overturned the vaſt fabric which he had employed ſo many years in erecting, and eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant church in Germany, upon a firm and ſecure baſis. It is ſingular, that in this treaty, no article was inſerted in favour of the king of France, to whom the confederates had been ſo much indebted for their ſucceſs. But Henry II. experienced only the treatment which every prince, who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war, may expect [38]. As ſoon as the rage of faction began to ſubſide, and any proſpect of accommodation to open, his ſervices were forgotten, and his aſſociates made a merit with their ſovereign of the ingratitude with which they had abandoned their protector.

The French monarch, however, ſenſible that it was more his intereſt to keep on good terms with the Germanic body than to reſent the indignities offered him by any particular member of it, concealed his diſpleaſure at the perfidy of Maurice and his aſſociates. He even affected to talk, in the ſame ſtrain as formerly, of his zeal for maintaining the ancient conſtitution and liberties of the empire. And he prepared to defend, by force of arms, his conqueſts in Lorrain, which he foreſaw Charles would take the firſt opportunity of wreſting from him. But before I relate the events of the new wars to which thoſe conqueſts gave birth, we muſt take a view of the affairs of our own iſland; a more contracted but not leſs turbulent ſcene, and diſcoloured by more horrors and cruelties than the continent, during the dark and changeable period that followed the death of Henry VIII.

38. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book x.

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LETTER LXII.

ENGLAND, *from the Death of* HENRY VIII. *until the Acceſſion of* ELIZABTH, *in* 1558, *together with an Account of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND *during that Period, and of the Progreſs of the Reformation in both the Britiſh Kingdoms.*

LETTER LXII. A.D. 1547.

HENRY VIII. by his will, made near a month before his death, left the crown, firſt to prince Edward, his ſon by Jane Seymour; then to the princeſs Mary, his daughter by Catherine of Arragon; and laſtly to the princeſs Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn, though both princeſſes had been declared illegitimate by parliament. Theſe particulars, my dear Philip, are neceſſary to be mentioned here, in order to the better underſtanding of the diſputes which afterwards aroſe in regard to the ſucceſſion.

EDWARD VI. being only nine years of age at the time of his father's death, the government of the kingdom was committed to ſixteen executors; among whom was Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, the chancellor, chamberlain, and all the great officers of ſtate. They choſe one of their number, namely the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle, inſtantly created duke of Somerſet, to repreſent the royal majeſty, under the title of Protector; to whom diſpatches from Engliſh miniſters abroad ſhould be directed, and whoſe name ſhould be employed in all orders and proclamations.

clamations. Him they inveſted with all the exterior ſymbols of regal dignity; and he procured a patent from the young king, inveſting him alſo with regal power [1]. LETTER LXII. A.D. 1547.

This patent, in which the executors are not ſo much as mentioned, being ſurreptitiouſly obtained from a minor, the protectorſhip of Somerſet was a palpable uſurpation; but as the executors acquieſced in the new eſtabliſhment, and the king diſcovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was a man of moderation and probity, few objections were made to his power or title. Other cauſes conſpired to confirm both. Somerſet had long been regarded as the ſecret partizan of the reformers, become by far the moſt numerous and reſpectable body of men in the kingdom; and being now freed from reſtraint, he ſcrupled not to diſcover his intention of correcting all abuſes in the ancient religion, and of adopting ſtill more of the Proteſtant innovations. He alſo took care that the king ſhould be educated in the ſame principles. To theſe Edward ſoon diſcovered a zealous attachment; and all men foreſeeing, in the courſe of his reign, the total abolition of the Catholic faith in England, they began early and very generally to declare themſelves in favour of thoſe tenets, which were likely to become in the end triumphant, and of that authority by which they were propagated.

In his ſchemes for advancing the progreſs of the Reformation, the protector had always recourſe to the counſels of Cranmer, whoſe moderation and prudence made him averſe againſt all violent changes, and de-

1. Burnet, *Hiſt. Reformat.* vol. ii.

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termined him to draw over the people, by inſenſible gradations, to that ſyſtem of doctrine and diſcipline which he eſteemed the moſt pure and perfect [2]. And to theſe moderate counſels we are indebted, not only for the full eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant religion in England, but alſo for that happy medium between ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm obſervable in the conſtitution of the Engliſh church. The fabric of the ſecular hierarchy was left and maintained entire: the ancient liturgy was preſerved, as far as was thought conſiſtent with the new principles: many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding uſe, were retained; and the diſtinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued. No innovation was admitted merely from a ſpirit of oppoſition, or a fanatical love of novelty. The eſtabliſhment of the Church of England was a work of reaſon.

As ſoon as the Engliſh government was brought to ſome degree of compoſure, Somerſet made preparations for a war with Scotland; determined to execute, if poſſible, that project of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been ſo intent, and which ſeemed once ſo near a happy iſſue, but which had been defeated by the intrigues of cardinal Beatoun. This politic and powerful prelate, though not able to prevent the parliament of Scotland from agreeing to the treaty of marriage and union with England, being then in the hands of the Proteſtant party, afterwards regained his authority, and acquired ſufficient influence not only to oblige the earl of Arran, who had ſucceeded him in the regency, to renounce his alliance with Henry VIII. but alſo to abjure the principles of the Reformation, to which he ſeemed zealouſly

2. Id. Ibid.

attached,

attached, and to reconcile himſelf, in 1543, to the Romiſh communion, in the Franciſcan church at Stirling [3]. LETTER LXII. A. D. 1547.

THE fatal effects of this change in the religious and political ſentiments of the regent, were long felt in Scotland. Arran's apoſtacy may even perhaps be conſidered as the remote cauſe of all the civil broils which afflicted both kingdoms in the ſubſequent century, and which terminated in the final expulſion of the houſe of Stuart, of which the infant queen of Scots was now the ſole repreſentative. The ſouthern and moſt fertile parts of the kingdom were ſuddenly laid waſte by an Engliſh army. Various hoſtilities enſued with various ſucceſs, but without any deciſive event. At laſt an end was put to that ruinous and inglorious warfare by the peace concluded between Henry VIII. and Francis I. at Campe, in 1546; the French monarch generouſly ſtipulating, that his Scottiſh allies ſhould be included in the treaty. The religious conſequences were more ſerious and laſting, and their political influence was great.

THE Scottiſh regent conſented to every thing that the zeal of the cardinal thought neceſſary for the preſervation of the eſtabliſhed religion. The reformers were every where cruelly perſecuted, and many were condemned to that dreadful puniſhment which the church has appointed for its enemies. Among thoſe committed to the flames was a popular preacher named George Wiſhart; a man of honourable birth, and of primitive ſanctity, who poſſeſſed in an eminent degree the talent of ſeizing the attention and engaging the affections of the multitude. Wiſhart ſuffered with the patience of a martyr; but he could not forbear remarking

3. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* book ii.

PART I. A. D. 1547. the barbarous triumph of his inſulting adverſary, who beheld from a window of his ſumptuous palace the inhuman ſpectacle:—and he foretold, that in a few days the cardinal ſhould, in the ſame palace, lie as low as now he was exalted high, in oppoſition to true piety and religion[4].

THIS prophecy, like many others, was probably the cauſe of the event which it foretold. The diſciples of Wiſhart, enraged at his cruel execution, formed a conſpiracy againſt Beatoun; and having aſſociated with them Norman Leſly, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Rothes, who was inſtigated by revenge on account of private injuries, they ſurpriſed the cardinal in his palace, or caſtle at St. Andrews, and inſtantly put him to death. One of the aſſaſſins, named James Melvil, before he ſtruck the fatal blow, turned the point of his ſword towards Beatoun, and in a tone of pious exhortation called to him, "Repent thee, thou wicked "Cardinal! of all thy ſins and iniquities; but eſpe- "cially of the murder of George Wiſhart, that in- "ſtrument of Chriſt for the converſion of theſe lands. "It is his death which now cries for vengeance. We "are ſent by God to inflict the deſerved puniſhment "upon thee[5]."

THE conſpirators, though only ſixteen in number, took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, after turning out one by one the cardinal's formidable retinue; and being reinforced by their friends, they prepared themſelves for a vigorous defence, and ſent a meſſenger to London, craving aſſiſtance from Henry VIII. The death of that prince, which happened ſoon after, blaſted all their hopes. They received, however during the ſiege, ſup-

4. Spotſwood. Buchanan. 5. Knox. Keith.

plies

plies both of money and proviſions from England; and if they had been able to hold out only a few weeks longer, they would have eſcaped that ſevere capitulation to which they were reduced, not by the regent alone, but by a body of troops ſent to his aſſiſtance from France.

SOMERSET entered Scotland at the head of eighteen thouſand men; while a fleet of ſixty ſail, one half of which conſiſted of ſhips of war, and the other of veſſels laden with proviſions and military ſtores, appeared on the coaſt, in order to ſecond his operations, and ſupply his army. The earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, had for ſome time obſerved this ſtorm gathering, and was prepared to meet it. He had ſummoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the enemy, was poſted to the greateſt advantage on a riſing ground, guarded by the banks of the river Eſke, a little above Muſſelburgh, when the Protector came in view. Alarmed at the ſight of a force ſo formidable, and ſo happily diſpoſed, Somerſet made an overture of peace to the earl of Arran, on conditions very admiſſible. He offered to withdraw his troops, and compenſate the damage he had done by his inroad, provided the Scottiſh regency would engage to keep their young queen at home, and not to contract her to any foreign prince, until ſhe ſhould arrive at the age of maturity, when ſhe might chuſe a huſband without the conſent of her council. But this moderate demand was rejected by the Scottiſh regent with diſdain, and merely on account of its moderation. It was imputed to fear; and Arran, confident of ſucceſs, was afraid of nothing but the eſcape of the Engliſh army. He therefore left his ſtrong camp, as ſoon as he ſaw the protector begin to move toward the ſea, ſuſpecting that he intended to embark on board his fleet;

PART I. A. D. 1547.

and paſſing the river Eſke, advanced into the plain, and attacked the Engliſh army near the village of Pinkey, with no better ſucceſs than his raſhneſs deſerved.

HAVING drawn up his troops on an eminence, Somerſet had now the advantage of ground on his ſide. The Scottiſh army conſiſted chiefly of infantry, whoſe principal weapon was a long ſpear, and whoſe files for that reaſon were deep, and their ranks cloſe. A body ſo compact and firm eaſily reſiſted the attack of the Engliſh cavalry, broke them, and drove them off the field. Lord Grey, their commander, was dangerouſly wounded; lord Edward Seymour, ſon of the protector, had his horſe killed under him, and the royal ſtandard was near falling into the hands of the enemy. But the Scots being galled by the protector's artillery in front, and by the fire from the ſhips in flank, while the Engliſh archers, and a body of foreign fuſileers, poured in volleys of ſhot upon them from all quarters, they at laſt began to give way: the rout became general, and the whole field was ſoon a ſcene of confuſion, terror, flight, and conſternation. The purſuit was long and bloody. Ten thouſand of the Scots are ſaid to have fallen, and but a very inconſiderable number of the conquering enemy [6].

THIS victory however, which ſeemed to threaten Scotland with final ſubjection, was of no real utility to England. It ſerved only to make the Scots throw themſelves inconſiderately into the arms of France, and ſend their young queen to be educated in that kingdom; a meaſure univerſally regarded as a prelude to her marriage with the dauphin, and which effectually

6. Patten. Hollingſhed.

diſap-

diſappointed the views of Somerſet, and proved the ſource of Mary's accompliſhments as a woman, and of her misfortunes as a queen.—The Scottiſh nobles in taking this ſtep, hurried away by the violence of reſentment, ſeem to have forgot that zeal for the independency of their crown, which had made them violate their engagements with Henry VIII. and oppoſe with ſo much ardour the arms of the protector. LETTER LXII. A.D. 1547.

THE cabals of the Engliſh court obliged the duke of Somerſet to return, before he could take any effectual meaſures for the ſubjection of Scotland; and the ſupplies which the Scots received from France, enabled them, in a great meaſure, to expel their invaders, while the protector was employed in re-eſtabliſhing his authority, and in quelling domeſtic inſurrections. His brother lord Seymour, a man of inſatiable ambition, had married the queen-dowager, and openly aſpired at the government of the kingdom. In order to attain this object, he endeavoured to ſeduce the young king to his intereſts; found means to hold a private correſpondence with him, and publicly decried the protector's adminſtration. He had brought over to his party many of the principal nobility, together with ſome of the moſt popular perſons of inferior rank; and he had provided arms for ten thouſand men, whom it was computed he could muſter from among his own domeſtics and retainers [7]. A.D. 1548.

THOUGH appriſed of all theſe alarming circumſtances, Somerſet ſhewed no inclination to proceed to extremities. He endeavoured by the moſt friendly

7. Haynes, p. 105, 106.

expedients,

PART I. expedients, by reaſon, entreaty, and even by loading Seymour with new favours, to make him deſiſt from ſuch dangerous politics. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more ſerious remedies; and the earl of Warwick, who hoped to raiſe his own fortune on the ruin of both, inflamed the quarrel between the brothers. By his advice lord Seymour was committed to the Tower, attainted of high treaſon, condemned, and executed 8.

A. D. 1549. THE protector had now leiſure to complete the Reformation, the great work which he had ſo ſucceſſfully begun, in conjunction with Cranmer, the primate, and which was now the chief object of concern throughout the nation. A committee of biſhops and divines had been appointed by the privy-council to compoſe a liturgy: they had executed the work committed to them, as already obſerved, with judgment and moderation; and they not unreaſonably flattered themſelves, that they had framed a ſervice in which every denomination of Chriſtians might concur This form of worſhip, which was nearly the ſame with that at preſent authorized by law, was eſtabliſhed by parliament in all the churches, and uniformity was ordered to be obſerved in all the rites and ceremonies 9.

THUS, my dear Philip, in the courſe of a few years, was the Reformation happily completed in England: and its civil and religious conſequences have ſince been deſervedly valued. But there is no abuſe in ſociety ſo great, as not to be attended with ſome advantages; and in the beginnings of innovation, the loſs of thoſe advantages is always ſenſibly felt, by the bulk of a nation, before it can perceive the benefits reſulting from the deſirable change.

8. Burnet, vol. ii. 9. 2. & 3. Edw. VI. cap. i.

No

LETTER LXII.

No inſtitution can be imagined leſs favourable to the intereſts of mankind than that of the monaſtic life; yet was it followed by many effects, which having ceaſed with the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks, by always reſiding at their convents, in the centre of their eſtates, ſpent their money in the country, and afforded a ready market for commodities. They were alſo acknowledged to have been in England, what they ſtill are in kingdoms where the Romiſh religion is eſtabliſhed, the beſt and moſt indulgent landlords; being limited by the rules of their order to a certain mode of living, and conſequently having fewer motives for extortion than other men. The abbots and priors were beſides accuſtomed to grant leaſes at an under value, and to receive a preſent in return. But the abbey-lands fell under different management, when diſtributed among the principal nobility and gentry: the rents of farms were raiſed, while the tenants found not the ſame facility in diſpoſing of the produce. The money was often ſpent in the capital; and to increaſe the evil, paſturage in that age being found more profitable than tillage, whole eſtates were laid waſte by incloſure. The farmers, regarded as an uſeleſs burden, were expelled their habitations; and the cottagers, deprived even of the commons, on which they had formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to beggary [10]. A. D. 1547

These grievances of the common people occaſioned inſurrections in ſeveral parts of England; and Somerſet, who loved popularity, imprudently encouraged them, by endeavouring to afford that redreſs which was not in his power. Tranquility, however,

10. Strype, vol. ii.

Was

PART I. A. D. 1549.

was ſoon reſtored to the kingdom by the vigilance of lord Ruſſel and the earl of Warwick, who cut many of the unhappy malcontents in pieces, and diſperſed the reſt. But the protector never recovered his authority. The nobility and gentry were in general diſpleaſed with the preference which he ſeemed to have given to the people; and as they aſcribed all the inſults to which they had been lately expoſed to his procraſtination, and to the countenance ſhewn to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the ſame diſorders from his paſſion for popular fame. His enemies even attempted to turn the rage of the populace againſt him, by working upon the lower claſs among the Catholics; and having gained over to their party the lord mayor of London, the lieutenant of the Tower, and many of the great officers of ſtate, they obliged Somerſet to reſign the protectorſhip, and committed him to cuſtody. A council of regency was formed, in which the earl of Warwick, who had conducted this revolution, bore the chief ſway, and who actually governed the kingdom without the invidious title of protector [11].

A. D. 1550.

THE firſt act of Warwick's adminiſtration was the negociation of a treaty of peace with France and with Scotland. Henry II. had taken advantage of the diſturbances in England, to recover ſeveral places in the Boulonnois, and even to lay ſiege, though without effect, to Boulogne itſelf. He now took advantage, in treating, of the ſtate of the Engliſh court. Senſible of the importance of peace to Warwick and his party, the French monarch abſolutely refuſed to pay the two millions of crowns, which his predeceſſor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as ar-

11. Stowe. Burnet. Hollingſhed.

rears

rears of former ſtipulations. He would never conſent, LETTER LXII.
he ſaid, to render himſelf tributary to any prince, alluding to the reverſion of annual payments demanded; but he offered a large ſum for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne and its territory. Four hundred thouſand crowns were agreed on as the equivalent. Scotland was comprehended in this treaty. The Engliſh ſtipulated to reſtore ſome fortreſſes, which they ſtill held in that kingdom [12]. A.D. 1550.

HAVING thus eſtabliſhed his adminiſtration, freed the kingdom from all foreign danger, and gained partizans, who were diſpoſed to ſecond him in every domeſtic enterprize, the earl of Warwick began to think of carrying into execution thoſe vaſt projects which he had formed for his own aggrandiſement. The laſt earl of Northumberland had died without iſſue; and as his brother, ſir Thomas Percy, had been attainted on account of the ſhare which he took in the Yorkſhire inſurrection during the late reign, the title was at preſent extinct, and the eſtate was veſted in the crown. Warwick procured for himſelf a grant of that large eſtate, which lay chiefly in the North, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom, and was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. This was a great ſtep; but there was yet a ſtrong bar in the way of his ambition. Somerſet, though degraded, and leſſened in the public eſteem, in conſequence of his ſpiritleſs conduct, continued to poſſeſs a conſiderable ſhare of popularity. Northumberland therefore reſolved to ruin the man he had injured, and whom he ſtill regarded as the chief obſtacle againſt the full attainment of his views. For that purpoſe, he employed A.D. 1551.

12. Burnet, vol. ii. Rymer, vol. xv.

his

PART I. his emiſſaries to ſuggeſt deſperate projects to this unguarded nobleman, and afterwards accuſed him of high treaſon for ſeeming to acquieſce in them. Somerſet was tried, condemned, and executed on Tower-hill; and four of his friends ſhared the ſame unjuſt, and unhappy fate. His death was ſincerely lamented by the people, to whom he had been peculiarly indulgent, and who regarded him as a martyr in their cauſe. Many of them dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preſerved as a precious relique [13].

A. D. 1552.

NORTHUMBERLAND might ſeem to have now attained the higheſt point of elevation, to which a ſubject could aſpire, and the greateſt degree of power. His rank was ſecond only to the royal family, his eſtate was one of the largeſt in the kingdom, and the government was entirely under his direction. But he aſpired after yet greater power and conſequence: his ambition knew no bounds. Having procured a parliament, which ratified his moſt deſpotic meaſures, and regulated its proceedings according to his will, he next endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf particularly with the young king, by manifeſting an uncommon zeal for the reformed religion; to which the opening mind of Edward was warmly devoted, and the intereſts of which more ſenſibly touched him than all other objects.

IN his frequent converſations on this ſubject, Northumberland took occaſion to repreſent to that pious prince, whoſe health began viſibly to decline, the danger to which the Reformation would be expoſed, ſhould his ſiſter Mary, a bigotted Catholic, ſucceed to

13. Hayward, p. 324, 325. Hollingſhed, p. 1068.

the

the throne of England; that although no ſuch objection lay againſt the princeſs Elizabeth, he could not, with any degree of propriety, exclude one ſiſter, without alſo excluding the other; that both had been declared illegitimate by parliament; that the queen of Scots ſtood excluded by the late king's will, and was beſides attached to the church of Rome; that theſe three princeſſes being ſet aſide for ſuch ſolid reaſons, the ſucceſſion devolved on the marchioneſs of Dorſet, eldeſt daughter of the duke of Suffolk and the French queen, his father's youngeſt ſiſter; that the apparent ſucceſſor to the marchioneſs was her daughter, lady Jane Gray, who was every way worthy of a crown. LETTER LXII. A.D. 1552.

THESE arguments made a deep impreſſion upon the mind of Edward. He had long lamented the obſtinacy of his ſiſter Mary, in adhering to the Romiſh communion, and ſeemed to foreſee all the horrors of her reign. He reſpected, and even loved Elizabeth. But lady Jane Gray, being of the ſame age, had been educated along with him, and had commanded his eſteem and admiration, by the progreſs which ſhe made in every branch of literature. He had enjoyed full opportunity of becoming acquainted with the purity of her religious principles, a circumſtance that weighed with him above every other conſideration in the choice of a ſucceſſor; and it ſeems beſides probable, that her elegant perſon and amiable diſpoſition had inſpired his heart with a tender affection. He therefore liſtened to the propoſal of diſinheriting his ſiſters with a patience which would otherwiſe have been highly criminal.

MEANWHILE Northumberland, finding he was likely to carry his principal point with the king, began to propoſe the other parts of his ſcheme. Two

PART I. ſons of the duke of Suffolk, by a marriage ſubſequent to the death of the French queen, having died

A. D. 1553. this ſeaſon of the Sweating Sickneſs (an epidemical malady which raged all over the kingdom), that title was become extinct. Northumberland perſuaded the king to beſtow it on the marquis of Dorſet; and by means of this and other favours, he obtained from the new duke and ducheſs of Suffolk, their eldeſt daughter lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth ſon, lord Guildford Dudley [14].

In order to complete his plan of ambition, it now only remained for Northumberland to procure the deſired change in the ſucceſſion; and, in the preſent languiſhing ſtate of the king's health, after all the arguments that had been uſed, it was no difficult matter to obtain a deed to that effect from Edward. He met with more oppoſition from the judges, and other perſons neceſſary to the execution of ſuch a deed. But they, at laſt, were all ſilenced, either by threats or promiſes; and the great ſeal was affixed to the king's letters patent, ſettling the crown on the heirs of the ducheſs of Suffolk, ſhe herſelf being content to give place to her daughters; or, in other words, to lady Jane, for whom ſhe was ſenſible the change in the ſucceſſion had been projected.

The king died ſoon after this ſingular tranſaction; and ſo much the ſooner by being put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook to reſtore him, in a little time, to his former ſtate of health.—Moſt of our hiſtorians, but eſpecially ſuch as were well affected to the Reformation, dwell with peculiar plea-

14. Strype. Helyn. Stowe.

ſure

LETTER LXII.

A. D. 153.

ſure on the excellent qualities of this young prince, whom (as an elegant writer obſerves) the flattering promiſes of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of fond regard to the public; and making allowance for the delicacy of his frame, and the manners of the age in which he lived, he ſeems to have poſſeſſed all the accompliſhments that could be expected in a youth of ſixteen.

AWARE of the oppoſition that would be made to the concerted change in the ſucceſſion, Northumberland had carefully concealed the deſtination of the crown ſigned by Edward. He even kept that prince's death ſecret for a while, in hopes of getting the two princeſſes into his power. With this view, he engaged the council to deſire their attendance at court, under pretence that the king's infirm ſtate of health required the aſſiſtance of their advice, and the conſolation of their company. All obedience or anxiety, they inſtantly left their ſeveral retreats in the country, and ſet out for London; but happily before their arrival, they both got intelligence of their brother's death, and of the conſpiracy formed againſt themſelves. Mary, who had advanced as far as Hodſdon, when ſhe received this notice, made haſte to retire, and wrote letters to the nobility and moſt conſiderable gentry in every county of England, commanding them to aſſiſt her in the defence of her crown and perſon [15].

FARTHER diſſimulation Northumberland now ſaw would be fruitleſs; he therefore went to Sion-houſe, where lady Jane Gray reſided, accompanied by a body of the nobility, and approaching her with the reſpect uſually paid to the ſovereign, informed her of her elevation to the throne. Lady Jane, who was in a great

15. Burnet. Fox. Heylin.

meaſure

PART I. meaſure ignorant of the intrigues of her father-in-law, received this information with equal grief and ſurprize. She even refuſed to accept the crown; pleaded the preferable title of the two princeſſes; expreſſed her dread of the conſequences attending an enterprize ſo dangerous, nay ſo criminal, and begged to remain in that private ſtation in which ſhe was born. Her heart, full of the paſſion for literature and the elegant arts, and of affection for her huſband, who was worthy of all her regard, had never opened itſelf to the flattering allurements of ambition. Overcome, however, at laſt by the entreaties rather than the reaſons of her relations, ſhe ſubmitted to their will; and Northumberland immediately conveyed her to London, where ſhe was proclaimed queen, but without one applauding voice.

THE people heard the proclamation with ſilence and concern: the very preachers employed their eloquence in vain to convince their auditors of the juſtice of lady Jane's title. Reſpect for the royal line, and indignation againſt the Dudleys, was ſtronger, even in the breaſts of the Proteſtants, than the dread of popery [15].

MEANTIME the inhabitants of Suffolk, whither the princeſs Mary had fled, reſorted to her in crowds; and when ſhe aſſured them, that ſhe never meant to alter the laws of Edward VI. concerning religion, they zealouſly enliſted themſelves in her cauſe. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her with reinforcements. Sir Edward Haſtings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, carried over to her four thouſand men, levied for the ſupport of her rival. The fleet declared for her. Even the earl of Suffolk, who commanded in

16. Ibid.

the

the Tower, finding reſiſtance fruitleſs, opened the gates of that fortreſs: and lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned without a ſigh to the privacy of domeſtic life. The council ordered Mary to be proclaimed; and Northumberland, deſerted by his followers, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, complied with that order with exterior marks of joy and ſatisfaction. He was brought to trial, however, and condemned and executed for high treaſon. Sentence was alſo pronounced againſt lady Jane Gray and lord Guildford Dudley; but they were reſpited on account of their youth, neither of them having attained the age of ſeventeen [17]. LETTER LXII. A. D. 1553.

No ſooner was Mary ſeated on the throne, than a total change took place both in men and meaſures. They who had languiſhed in confinement were lifted to the helm of power, and intruſted with the government of the church as well as of the ſtate. Gardiner, Bonner, and other Catholic biſhops, were reſtored to their ſees, and admitted to the queen's favour and confidence; while the moſt eminent Proteſtant prelates and zealous reformers, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Coverdale, and Cranmer, were thrown into priſon. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, becauſe they preſumed to plead the queen's promiſe of maintaining the reformed religion; and one more bold than the reſt, in recalling to her memory the engagements into which ſhe had entered, when they enliſted themſelves in her ſervice, was ſet in the pillory. A parliament was procured entirely conformable to the ſentiments of the court, and a bill paſſed declaring the queen to be legitimate; ratifying the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catharine

17. Heylin. Burnet.

PART I. A.D. 1553.

of Arragon, and annulling the divorce pronounced by Cranmer. All the ſtatutes of Edward VI. reſpecting religion were repealed; and the queen ſent aſſurances to the pope of her earneſt deſire of reconciling herſelf and her kingdoms to the Holy See, and requeſting that cardinal Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office [18].

REGINALD POLE was deſcended from the royal family of England, being fourth ſon of the counteſs of Saliſbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave early indications of that fine genius, and generous diſpoſition, by which he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed during his more advanced age; and Henry VIII. having conceived great friendſhip for him, propoſed to raiſe him to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignities. As a pledge of future favours, Henry conferred on him the deanry of Exeter, the better to ſupport him in his education. But when the king of England broke with the court of Rome, Pole not only refuſed to ſecond his meaſures, but wrote againſt him in a treatiſe on the *Unity of the Church*. This performance produced an irreparable breach between the young eccleſiaſtic and his ſovereign, and blaſted all Pole's hopes of riſing in the Engliſh church. He was not, however, allowed to ſink. The pope and the emperor thought themſelves bound to provide for a man of ſo much eminence; who, in ſupport of their cauſe, had ſacrificed all his pretenſions to fortune in his own country. Pole was created a cardinal, and ſent legate into Flanders. But he took no higher than deacon's orders, which did not condemn him to celibacy; and he was ſuſpected of having aſpired to the Engliſh crown, by means of a marriage with the princeſs Mary, during the life of

18. Burnet, vol. ii.

her

her father. The marquis of Exeter, lord Montacute, the cardinal's brother, and ſeveral other perſons of rank, ſuffered for this conſpiracy, whether real or pretended. To hold a correſpondence with that obnoxious fugitive was deemed perhaps ſufficient guilt. It was enough, at leaſt, to expoſe them to the indignation of Henry; and his will, on many occaſions, is known to have uſurped the place of both law and equity.

LETTER LXII. A. D. 1553.

BUT whatever doubt may remain of Pole's intrigues for obtaining the crown of England, through an alliance with Mary, it is certain that SHE was no ſooner ſeated upon the throne, than ſhe thought of making him the partner of her ſway. The cardinal, however, being now in the decline of life, was repreſented to the queen as unqualified for the buſtle of a court, and the fatigue of buſineſs. She therefore laid aſide all thoughts of him, as a huſband; but as ſhe entertained an high eſteem for his wiſdom and virtue, ſhe ſtill propoſed to reap the benefit of his counſels in the adminiſtration of her government—and hence her requeſt to the pope.

THIS alliance, and one with the earl of Devonſhire, being rejected for various reaſons, the queen turned her eye toward the houſe of Auſtria, and there found a ready correſpondence with her views. Charles V. whoſe ambition was boundleſs, no ſooner had heard of the acceſſion of his kinſwoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the ſcheme of obtaining the kingdom for his ſon Philip; hoping by that acquiſition to balance the loſſes he had ſuſtained in Germany. And Philip, although eleven years younger than Mary, who was deſtitute of every

PART I. external beauty or grace, gave his conſent, without
A. D. 1553. heſitation, to the match propoſed by his father. The emperor, therefore, immediately ſent over an agent to ſignify his intentions to the queen of England; who, flattered with the proſpect of marrying the preſumptive heir of the greateſt monarch in Europe, pleaſed with the ſupport of ſo powerful an alliance, and happy to unite herſelf more cloſely to her mother's family, to which ſhe had always been warmly attached, gladly embraced the propoſal. The earls of Norfolk and Arundel, lord Paget, whom ſhe had promoted, and biſhop Gardiner, now become prime miniſter, finding how Mary's inclinations leaned, gave their opinion in favour of the Spaniſh alliance; but as they were ſenſible the proſpect of it diffuſed univerſal apprehenſion and terror for the liberty and independency of the kingdom, the marriage articles were drawn up with all poſſible attention to the intereſt and ſecurity, and even
A. D. 1554. to the grandeur of England. The emperor agreed to whatever was thought neceſſary to ſoothe the fears of the people, or quiet the jealouſies of the nobility. The chief articles were, That Philip, during his marriage with Mary, ſhould bear the title of king, but that the adminiſtration ſhould be veſted ſolely in the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of holding any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, or privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children without the conſent of the nobility; that the male iſſue of the marriage ſhould inherit, together with England, Burgundy, and the Low Countries; that if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by a former marriage, ſhould die without iſſue, Mary's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Spain and all the emperor's hereditary domi-

dominions; and that Philip, if the queen ſhould die before him, without iſſue, ſhould leave the crown of England to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of adminiſtration whatſoever [19]. LETTER LXII. A.D. 1554.

BUT this treaty, though framed with ſo much caution and ſkill, was far from reconciling the Engliſh nation to the Spaniſh alliance. It was univerſally ſaid, that the emperor, in order to get poſſeſſion of England, would agree to any terms; and that the more favourable the conditions which he had granted, the more certainly might it be concluded he had no ſerious intention of obſerving them. His general character was urged in ſupport of theſe obſervations; and it was added, That Philip, while he inherited his father's vices, fraud and ambition, united to them more dangerous vices of his own, ſullen pride and barbarity. England ſeemed already a province of Spain, groaning under the load of deſpotiſm, and ſubjected to all the horrors of the inquiſition. The people were every where ripe for rebellion, and wanted only an able leader to have ſubverted the queen's authority. No ſuch leader appeared. The more prudent part of the nobility thought it would be ſoon enough to correct ills when they began to be felt. Some turbulent ſpirits, however, judged it ſafer to prevent, than to redreſs grievances. They accordingly formed a conſpiracy to riſe in arms, and declare againſt the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyat propoſed to raiſe Kent: ſir Peter Carew, Devonſhire; and the duke of Suffolk was engaged, by the hopes of recovering the crown for lady Jane Grey, to attempt raiſing the midland counties.

19. Rymer, vol. xv. Burnet, vol. ii.

But

PART I. A. D. 1554.

But theſe conſpirators imprudently breaking concert, and riſing at different times, were ſoon humbled. Wyat and Suffolk loſt their heads, as did lady Jane Gray and her huſband lord Guildford Dudley, to whom the duke's guilt was imputed.

THIS fond and unfortunate couple died with much piety and fortitude. It had been intended to execute them on the ſame ſcaffold on Tower-hill; but the council dreading the compaſſion of the people for their youth, beauty, and innocence, changed its orders, and gave directions that lady Jane ſhould be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She refuſed to take leave of her huſband on the day of their execution; aſſigning as a reaſon, that the tenderneſs of parting might unbend their minds from that firmneſs which their approaching doom required of them. "Our ſeparation," added ſhe, "will be but for a "moment: we ſhall ſoon rejoin each other in a ſcene "where our affections will be for ever united, and "where death, diſappointment, and misfortune, "can no longer diſturb our felicity [20]." She ſaw lord Guildford led to execution, without diſcovering any ſign of weakneſs: ſhe even calmly met his headleſs body, as ſhe was going to execution herſelf, returning to be interred in the chapel of the Tower, and intrepidly deſired to proceed to the fatal ſpot, emboldened by the reports which ſhe had received of the magnanimity of his behaviour. On that occaſion ſhe wrote in her Table-book, three ſentences; one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in Engliſh. The meaning of them was, that although human juſtice was againſt her huſband's body, divine mercy would be favourable to his ſoul; that if her fault de-

20. Heylin, p. 167. Fox, vol. iii.

ſerved puniſhment, her youth and inexperience ought to plead her excuſe; and that God and poſterity, ſhe truſted, would ſhew her favour. On the ſcaffold ſhe behaved with great mildneſs and compoſure, and ſubmitted herſelf to the ſtroke of the executioner with a ſteady and ſerene countenance [21]. LETTER LXII. A.D. 1554

THE queen's authority was much ſtrengthened by the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, commonly called Wyat's, from the figure which he made in it; and the arrival of Philip in England gave ſtill more ſtability to her government. For although that prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the Engliſh nation had entertained againſt him, being diſtant in his addreſs, and ſo entrenched in form and ceremony, as to be in a manner inacceſſible, his liberality, if money diſburſed for the purpoſes of corruption can deſerve that name, made him many friends among the nobility and gentry. Cardinal Pole alſo arrived in England about the ſame time with legantine powers from the pope; and both houſes of parliament voted an addreſs to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that the nation had been guilty of a moſt horrible defection from the true church; declaring their reſolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the Romiſh religion; and praying their majeſties, happily uninfected with that criminal ſchiſm! to intercede with the Holy Father for the abſolution and forgiveneſs of their penitent ſubjects. The requeſt was readily granted. The legate, in the name of his Holineſs, gave the parliament and kingdom abſolution, freed them from all eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and received them again into the boſom of the church [22].

21. Id. Ibid. 22. Burnet, vol. ii. Fox, vol. iii.

PART I.

A. D. 1554. In conſequence of this reconciliation with the ſee of Rome, the puniſhment by fire, that frightful expedient of ſuperſtition, for extending her empire, and preſerving her dominion, was rigorouſly employed againſt the moſt eminent reformers. The mild counſels of cardinal Pole, who was inclined to toleration, were over-ruled by Gardiner and Bonner, and many perſons of all conditions, ages, and ſexes were committed to the flames. The perſecutors made their firſt attack upon Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's; a man equally diſtinguiſhed by his piety and learning, but whoſe domeſtic ſituation it was hoped would bring him to compliance. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet did he continue firm in his principles, and ſuch was his ſerenity after condemnation, that the gaolers, it is ſaid, waked him from a ſound ſleep, when the hour of his execution approached,

A. D. 1555. He ſuffered in Smithfield. Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, was condemned at the ſame time with Rogers, but ſent to his own dioceſe to be puniſhed, in order to ſtrike the greater terror into his flock. The conſtancy of his death, however, had a very contrary effect. It was a ſcene of conſolation to Hooper to die in their ſight, bearing teſtimony to that doctrine which he had formerly taught among them. He continued to exhort them, till his tongue, ſwollen by the violence of his agony, denied him utterance: and his words were long remembered [21].

Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, alſo ſuffered this terrible puniſhment in his own dioceſe. And Ridley, biſhop of London, and Latimer, formerly biſhop of Worceſter, two prelates venerable by their years, their learning, and their piety, periſhed together in the

21. Id. Ibid.

ſame fire at Oxford, ſupporting each other's conſtancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the ſtake, called to his companion, "Be of "good cheer, my brother! we ſhall this day kindle "ſuch a flame in England, as I truſt in God will ne-"ver be extinguiſhed [24]." LETTER LXII. A. D. 1555.

SANDERS, a reſpectable clergyman, was committed to the flames at Coventry. A pardon was offered him, if he would recant: but he rejected it with diſdain, and embraced the ſtake, ſaying, "Welcome, "croſs of Chriſt! welcome, everlaſting life!" Cranmer had leſs courage at firſt. Overawed by the proſpect of thoſe tortures which awaited him, or overcome by the fond love of life, and by the flattery of artful men, who pompouſly repreſented the dignities to which his character ſtill entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation, he agreed, in an unguarded hour, to ſubſcribe the doctrines of the papal ſupremacy and the real preſence. But Mary and her council, no leſs perfidious than cruel, determined, that this recantation ſhould avail him nothing; that he ſhould acknowledge his errors in the church before the people, and afterward be led to execution. Whether Cranmer received ſecret intelligence of their deſign, or repented of his weakneſs, or both, is uncertain, but he ſurpriſed the audience by a declaration very different from that which was expected from him. After explaining his ſenſe of what he owed to God and his ſovereign, "There is one miſcarriage in my "life," ſaid he, "of which, above all others, I ſe-"verely repent—the inſincere declaration of faith to "which I had the weakneſs to ſubſcribe; but I take A. D. 1556.

24. Fox, vol. iii. Burnet, vol. ii.

"this

PART I. A. D. 1556.

"this opportunity of atoning for my error by a ſin-
"cere and open recantation, and am willing to ſeal
"with my blood that doctrine which I firmly believe
"to have been communicated from Heaven."

As his hand, he added, had erred, by betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt be puniſhed by a ſevere but juſt doom. He accordingly ſtretched out his arm, as ſoon he came to the ſtake, to which he was inſtantly led, and without diſcovering either by his looks or motions, the leaſt ſign of compunction, or even of feeling, he held his right-hand in the flames, till it was utterly conſumed. His thoughts, appeared to be totally occupied in reflecting on his former fault; and he called aloud ſeveral times, "This hand has "offended!" When it dropped off, he diſcovered a ſerenity in his countenance, as if ſatisfied with ſacrificing to divine juſtice the inſtrument of his crime; and when the fire attacked his body, his ſoul, wholly collected within itſelf, ſeemed fortified againſt every external accident, and altogether inacceſſible to pain [25].

It would be endleſs, my dear Philip, to enumerate all the cruelties practiſed in England during this bigotted reign; near three hundred perſon having been brought to the ſtake in the firſt rage of perſecution. Beſides the ſavage barbarity on one hand, and the patient conſtancy on the other, are ſo ſimilar, in all thoſe martyrdoms, that a narration, very little agreeable in itſelf, would become altogether diſguſting by its uniformity. It is ſufficient to have mentioned the ſufferings of our moſt eminent reformers, whoſe cha-

25. Fox, vol. iii. Burnet. vol. ii.

racter

racter and condition make ſuch notice neceſſary. I ſhall therefore conclude this ſubject with obſerving, that human nature appears on no occaſion ſo deteſtable, and at the ſame time ſo abſurd, as in theſe religious horrors, which ſink mankind below infernal ſpirits in wickedneſs, and beneath the brutes in folly. Biſhop Bonner ſeemed to rejoice in the torments of the victims of perſecution. He ſometimes whipped the Proteſtant priſoners, with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exerciſe: he tore out the beard of a weaver, who refuſed to relinquiſh his religion; and in order to give the obſtinate heretic a more ſenſible idea of burning, he held his finger to the candle, till the ſinews and veins ſhrunk and burſt [16]. All theſe examples prove, that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, inflamed by theological hate.

LETTER LXII. A.D. 1554

But the members of the Engliſh parliament, though ſo obſequious to the queen's will in reuniting the kingdom to the ſee of Rome, and in authoriſing the butchery of their fellow-ſubjects who rejected the Catholic faith, had ſtill ſome regard left both to their own and the national intereſt. They refuſed to reſtore the poſſeſſions of the church. And Mary failed, not only in an attempt to get her huſband declared preſumptive heir to the crown, and to obtain the conſent of parliament for veſting the adminiſtration put in his hands, but in all her political hopes. She could not ſo much as obtain a parliamentary conſent to his coronation.

The queen likewiſe met with much and long oppoſition from parliament in another favourite mea-

16. Fox, vol. iii.

ſure;

PART I. ſure; namely, in an attempt to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain. The motion was for a time laid aſide; and Philip, diſguſted with Mary's importunate love, which was equal to that of a girl of eighteen, and with her jealouſy and ſpleen, which increaſed with her declining years and her deſpair of having iſſue, had gone over to his father Charles V. in Flanders. The voluntary reſignation of the emperor, ſoon after this viſit, put Philip in poſſeſſion of all the wealth of America, and of the richeſt and moſt extenſive dominions in Europe. He did not, however, lay aſide his attention to the affairs of England, of which he ſtill hoped to have the
A. D. 1557. direction; and he came over to London, in order to ſupport his parliamentary friends in a new motion for a French war. This meaſure was zealouſly oppoſed by ſeveral of the queen's moſt able counſellors, and particularly by cardinal Pole; who having taken prieſt's orders, had been inſtalled in the ſee of Canterbury, on the death of Cranmer. But hoſtilities having been begun by France, as was pretended, war was at laſt denounced againſt that kingdom; and an army of ten thouſand men was ſent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke [27].

A LIKE attempt was made in Scotland by the French monarch, to engage that kingdom in a war with England. Mary of Guiſe, the queen-dowager, had obtained the regency through the intrigues of the court of France, and Henry II. now requeſted her to take part in the common quarrel. She accordingly ſummoned a convention of the ſtates, and aſked their concurrence for commencing hoſtilities againſt England. But the Scottiſh nobles, who were become as

27. Burnet, vol. ii. Strype, vol. iii.

jealous

jealous of the French, as the Engliſh were of Spaniſh influence, refuſed their aſſent; and the regent had in vain recourſe to ſtratagem, in order to accompliſh her purpoſe. LETTER LXII. A.D. 1557.

THE French monarch, however, without the aſſiſtance of his ancient allies, and notwithſtanding the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, of which I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſpeak, made himſelf maſter of Calais, which the Engliſh had held upwards of two hundred years; and which, as it opened to them an eaſy and ſecure entry into the heart of France, was regarded as the moſt valuable foreign poſſeſſion belonging to the crown. This important place was recovered by the vigilance and valour of the duke of Guiſe; who informed that the Engliſh, truſting to the ſtrength of the town, deemed in that age impregnable, were accuſtomed to recall towards the cloſe of ſummer, great part of the garriſon, and to replace it in the ſpring, undertook in the depth of winter, and ſucceeded in an enterprize, that ſurpriſed his own countrymen no leſs than his enemies. As he knew that ſucceſs depended upon celerity, he puſhed his attacks with ſuch vigour, that the governor was obliged to ſurrender on the eighth day of the ſiege [28].

THE joy of the French on that occaſion was extreme. Their vanity indulged itſelf in the utmoſt exultation of triumph, while the Engliſh gave vent to all the paſſions which agitate a high ſpirited people, when any great national misfortune is evidently the conſequence of the miſconduct of their rulers. They murmured loudly againſt the queen and her council; who, after engaging the nation in a fruitleſs war, for

28. Thuan, lib. xx. cap. ii.

PART I. the ſake of foreign intereſts, had thus expoſed it, by their negligence, to ſo ſevere a diſgrace.

THIS event, together with the conſciouſneſs of being hated by her ſubjects, and deſpiſed by her huſband, ſo much affected the queen of England, whoſe health
A.D. 1558. had long been declining, that ſhe fell into a low fever, which put an end to her ſhort and inglorious reign. "When I am dead," ſaid ſhe to her attendants, "you will find Calais at my heart." Mary poſſeſſed few qualities either eſtimable or amiable. Her perſon was as little engaging as her manners; and amid that complication of vices which entered into her compoſition, namely obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, and cruelty, we ſcarcely find any virtue but ſincerity.

BEFORE the queen's death, negociations had been opened for a general peace. Among other conditions, the king of France demanded the reſtitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; the king of Spain, that of Calais and its territory to England. But the death of Mary ſomewhat altered the firmneſs of the Spaniſh monarch in regard to that capital article. And before I ſpeak of the treaty which was afterwards ſigned at Chateau Cambreſis, and which reſtored tranquillity to Europe, I muſt carry forward the affairs of the continent. Meantime it will be proper to ſay a few words of the princeſs Elizabeth, who now ſucceeded to the throne of England.

THE Engliſh nation was under great apprehenſions for the life of this princeſs, during her ſiſter's whole reign. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and menaces had been employed to bring her to a recantation. The

violent hatred which the queen entertained againſt her, broke out on every occaſion; and all her own diſtinguiſhed prudence was neceſſary, in order to prevent the fatal effects of it. She retired into the country; and knowing that ſhe was ſurrounded with ſpies, ſhe paſſed her time wholly in reading and ſtudy. She complied with the eſtabliſhed mode of worſhip, and eluded all queſtions in regard to religion. When aſked, on purpoſe to gather her opinion of the *real preſence*, what ſhe thought of theſe words of Chriſt, "This is my body?"—and whether ſhe believed it the *true* body of Chriſt that was in the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper? ſhe replied thus: LETTER LXII. A. D. 1558.

"Chriſt was the Word that ſpake it;
"He took the bread and brake it;
"And what the word did make it,
"That I believe and take it[29]."

AFTER the death of her ſiſter, Elizabeth delivered her ſentiments more freely: and the firſt act of her adminiſtration was the re-eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Religion. The liturgy was again introduced in the Engliſh tongue, and the oath of ſupremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of biſhops had been reduced to fourteen by a ſickly ſeaſon, which preceded this change; and all theſe, except the biſhop of Landaff, having refuſed compliance, were deprived of their ſees. But of the great body of the Engliſh clergy, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, ſacrificed their livings for their theological opinions[30]. A. D. 1559.

29. Baker. Strype. Camden. 30. Ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1559.

THIS change in religion completed the joy of the people on account of the acceſſion of Elizabeth; the auſpicious commencement of whoſe reign may be ſaid to have prognoſticated that felicity and glory, which uniformly attended it. Theſe particulars, my dear Philip, will make all retroſpect in the affairs of England unneceſſary, beyond the treaty of Chateau Cambreſis.

LETTER LXIII.

The Continent of EUROPE, *from the Peace of* PASSAU, *in* 1552, *to the Peace of* CHATEAU CAMBRESIS, *in* 1559.

LETTER LXIII.

THE treaty of Paſſau was no ſooner ſigned than Maurice, the deliverer of Germany, marched into Hungary againſt the Turks, at the head of twenty thouſand men, in conſequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, whom the hopes of ſuch aſſiſtance had made the moſt zealous advocate of the confederates. But the vaſt ſuperiority of the Turkiſh armies, together with the diſſenſions between Maurice and Caſtaldo, the Auſtrian general, who was piqued at being ſuperſeded in the command, prevented the elector from performing any thing in that country worthy of his former fame, or of much benefit to the king of the Romans.

IN the mean time Charles V. deeply affected for the loſs of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had formed the barrier of the empire on the ſide of France, and would now ſecure the frontier of Champagne, left his

inglorious retreat at Villach, and put himſelf at the head of thoſe forces which he had aſſembled againſt the confederates, determined to recover the three biſhopricks. In order to conceal the deſtination of his army, he circulated a report that he intended to lead it into Hungary, to ſecond Maurice in his operations againſt the infidels; and as that pretext failed him, when he began to approach the Rhine, he pretended that he was marching firſt to chaſtiſe Albert of Brandenburg, who had refuſed to be included in the treaty of Paſſau, and whoſe cruel exactions in that part of Germany called loudly for redreſs. LETTER LXIII. A D. 1552.

THE French, however, were not deceived by theſe artifices. Henry II. immediately gueſſed the true object of the emperor's armament, and reſolved to defend his conqueſts with vigour. The defence of Metz, againſt which it was foreſeen the whole weight of the war would be turned, was committed to Francis of Lorrain, duke of Guiſe, who poſſeſſed in an eminent degree all the qualities that render men great in military command. To courage, ſagacity, and preſence of mind, he added that magnanimity of ſoul which delights in bold enterprizes, and aſpires after fame by ſplendid and extraordinary actions. He repaired with joy to the dangerous ſtation; and many of the French nobility, and even princes of the blood eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves under ſuch a leader, entered Metz as volunteers. They were all neceſſary. The city was of great extent, ill fortified, and the ſuburbs large. For all theſe defects the duke endeavoured to provide a remedy. He repaired the old fortifications with all poſſible expedition, labouring

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with his own hands: the officers imitated his example; and the ſoldiers, thus encouraged, chearfully ſubmitted to the moſt ſevere toils. He erected new works, and he levelled the ſuburbs with the ground. At the ſame time he filled the magazines with proviſions and military ſtores, compelled all uſeleſs perſons to leave the place, and laid waſte the neighbouring country; yet ſuch were his popular talents, and his power of acquiring an aſcendant over the minds of men, that the citizens not only refrained from murmuring, but ſeconded him with no leſs ardour than the ſoldiers in all his operations—in the ruin of their eſtates, and in the havock of their public and private buildings [1].

MEANWHILE the emperor continued his march toward Lorrain at the head of ſixty thouſand men. On his approach, Albert of Brandenburg, whoſe army did not exceed twenty thouſand, withdrew into that duchy, as if he intended to join the French king; and Charles, notwithſtanding the declining ſeaſon, it being the month of October, laid ſiege to Metz, contrary to the advice of his moſt experienced officers.

THE attention of both the beſiegers and the beſieged was turned for a time to the motions of Albert, who ſtill hovered in the neighbourhood, undetermined which ſide to take, though reſolved to ſell his ſervices. Charles at laſt came up to his price, and he joined the imperial army. The emperor now flattered himſelf that nothing could reſiſt his force; but he found himſelf deceived. After a ſiege of almoſt

1. Thuan. lib. xi.

ſixty

sixty days, during which he had attempted all that was thought possible for art or valour to effect, and had lost upwards of thirty thousand men by the inclemency of the weather, diseases, or the sword of the enemy, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize. "Fortune," said Charles, "I now perceive, like "other fine ladies, chuses to confer her favours on "young men, and forsakes those advanced in years [2]." LETTER LXIII. A.D. 1552

THIS saying has been thought gallant, and perhaps it is so; but the occasion merited more serious reflexions. When the French sallied out to attack the enemy's rear, a spectacle presented itself to their view which extinguished at once all hostile rage, and melted them into compassion. The imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. All the roads by which the army retired were strewed with the same miserable objects; who, having made an effort beyond their strength to escape, and not being able to proceed, were left to perish without assistance. Happily that, and all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform, they received from their enemies. The duke of Guise ordered them all to be taken care of, and supplied with every necessary. He appointed physicians to attend, and direct what treatment was proper for the sick and wounded, and what refreshments for the feeble; and such as recovered, he sent home, under a safe escort, and with money to bear their charges [3]. By these acts of humanity, less common in that age than the present, the duke of Guise completed that

2. Id. Ibid. 3. Thuan. lib. xi. P. Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. iv. Father Daniel's account of this siege is copied from the Journal of the Sieur de Saligniac, who was present at it.

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A. D. 1552.

THE emperor's misfortunes were not confined to Germany. During his reſidence at Villach, he had been obliged to borrow two hundred thouſand crowns from Coſmo of Medicis; and ſo low was his credit, that he was obliged to put that prince in poſſeſſion of the territory of Piombino, as a ſecurity for the repayment of the money. By this ſtep he loſt the footing he had hitherto maintained in Tuſcany, and nearly at the ſame time he loſt Siena. The Sieneſe, who had long enjoyed a republican government, roſe againſt the Spaniſh garriſon, which they had admitted as a check upon the tyranny of the nobility, but which they now found was meant to enſlave them. Forgetting their domeſtic animoſities, they recalled the exiled nobles; demoliſhed the citadel, and put themſelves under the protection of France [4].

THESE unfortunate events were followed by the moſt alarming dangers. The ſevere adminiſtration of the viceroy of Naples had filled that kingdom with murmuring and diſſatisfaction. The prince of Salerno, the head of the malcontents, fled to the court of France. The French monarch, after the example of his father, had formed an alliance with the grand-ſeignior; and Solyman, at that time highly incenſed againſt the houſe of Auſtria, on account of the proceedings in Hungary, ſent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under the command of the corſair Dragut, an officer trained up under Barbaroſſa, and little inferior to his maſter in courage, talents, or in good fortune. Dragut appeared on the coaſt of Calabria, where he expected to be joined by a French

4. *Mem. de Ribier.*

ſquadron;

ſquadron; but not meeting with it according to concert, he returned to Conſtantinople, after plundering and burning ſeveral places, and filling Naples with conſternation [5]. LETTER LXIII.

HIGHLY chagrined by ſo many diſaſters, Charles retired into the Low-Countries, breathing vengeance againſt France. Meantime Germany was ſtill diſturbed by the reſtleſs ambition of Albert of Brandenburg; and as that prince obſtinately continued his violences, notwithſtanding a decree of the imperial chamber, a league was formed againſt him by the moſt powerful princes in the empire, of which Maurice was declared the head. This confederacy, however, wrought no change in the ſentiments of Albert. But as he knew that he could not reſiſt ſo many princes, if they had leiſure to unite their forces, he marched directly againſt Maurice, whom he dreaded moſt, and hoped to cruſh before he could receive ſupport from his allies; though in that he was deceived. Maurice was ready to oppoſe him. A.D. 1553

THESE hoſtile chiefs, whoſe armies were nearly equal in numbers, each conſiſting of twenty-four thouſand men, met at Siverhauſen in the duchy of Lunenburgh. There an obſtinate battle was fought, in which the combat long remained doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately; but at laſt victory declared for Maurice, who was ſuperior in cavalry. Albert's army fled in confuſion, leaving four thouſand men dead on the field, and their baggage and artillery in the hands of the enemy. But the allies bought their victory dear. Their beſt troops ſuffered greatly; ſeveral perſons of diſtinction fell; and Maurice himſelf received a wound, of which he died two days July 9.

5. Id. Ibid.

after,

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after, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age. No prince, ancient or modern, ever perhaps diſcovered ſuch deep political ſagacity at ſo early a period of life. As he left only one daughter, afterwards married to the famous William, prince of Orange, John Frederick, the degraded elector, claimed the electoral dignity, and that part of his patrimonial eſtate of which he had been ſtripped during the Smalkaldic war; but the ſtates of Saxony, forgetting the merits and ſufferings of their former maſter, declared in favour of Auguſtus, Maurice's brother. The unfortunate, but magnanimous, John Frederick, died ſoon after this diſappointment, which he bore with his uſual firmneſs [6]; and the electoral dignity is ſtill poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of Auguſtus.

THE conſternation which Maurice's death occaſioned among his troops, prevented them from making a proper uſe of their victory; ſo that Albert, having re-aſſembled his broken forces, and made freſh levies, renewed his depredations with additional fury. But being defeated in a ſecond battle, ſcarce leſs bloody than the former, by Henry of Brunſwick, who had taken the command of the allied army, he was driven from all his hereditary dominions, as well as from thoſe he had uſurped; was laid under the ban of the empire, and obliged to take refuge in France, where he lingered out a few years in an indigent and dependent ſtate of exile [7].

Sept. 12.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low-Countries with conſiderable vigour. Impatient to efface the ſtain which his mili-

6. Arnoldi, *Vit. Maurit.* Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book x.
7. Id. Ibid.

tary

tary reputation had received before Metz, Charles laid siege to Terouane; and the fortifications being out of repair, that important place was carried by assault. Hesden also was invested, and carried in the same manner. The king of France was too late in assembling his forces, to afford relief to either of these places; and the emperor afterwards cautiously avoided an engagement, during the remainder of the campaign. LETTER LXIII. A. D. 1553.

The imperial arms were less successful in Italy. The viceroy of Naples failed in an attempt to recover Siena; and the French not only established themselves more firmly in Tuscany, but conquered part of the island of Corsica. Nor did the affairs of the house of Austria wear a better aspect in Hungary during the course of this year. Isabella and her son appeared once more in Transylvania, at a time when the people were ready for revolt, in order to revenge the death of Martinuzzi, whose loss they had severely felt. Some noblemen of eminence declared in favour of the young king: and the bashaw of Belgrade, by Solyman's order, espousing his cause, Castaldo, the Austrian general, was obliged to abandon Transylvania to Isabella and the Turks[8].

In order to counterbalance these and other losses, the emperor, as has been already related, concerted a marriage between his son Philip and Mary of England, in hopes of adding this kingdom to his other dominions. Meanwhile the war between Henry and Charles was carried on with various success in the Low-Countries, and in Italy much to the disadvantage of France. The French, under the command of Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, were defeated in the battle of Marciano; Siena was reduced by Medicino, the imperial general, after a siege of ten months, A. D. 15.

8. Thuanus, lib. xv.

and

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and the gallant Sieneſe were again ſubjected to the Spaniſh yoke. Nearly at the ſame time a plot was formed by the Franciſcans, but happily diſcovered before it could be carried into execution, for betraying Metz to the Imperialiſts. The father guardian and twenty other monks received ſentence of death on account of this conſpiracy; but the guardian, before the time appointed for his execution, was murdered by his incenſed accomplices, whom he had ſeduced from their allegiance, and ſix of the youngeſt were pardoned [9].

WHILE war thus raged in Italy and the Low-Countries, accompanied with all its train of miſeries, and all the crimes to which ambition gives birth, Germany enjoyed ſuch profound tranquillity, as afforded the diet full leiſure to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification agreed upon at Paſſau, and referred to the conſideration of the next meeting of the Germanic body. For this purpoſe a diet had been ſummoned to meet at Augſburgh, ſoon after the concluſion of the treaty; but the commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburg, and the attention which Ferdinand was obliged to pay to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto obſtructed its deliberations. The following ſtipulations were at laſt ſettled, and formally publiſhed; namely, "That ſuch princes and "cities as have declared their approbation of the Con-"feſſion of Augſburg, ſhall be permitted to profeſs "and exerciſe, without moleſtation, the doctrine and "worſhip which it authoriſes; that the popiſh eccle-"ſiaſtics ſhall claim no ſpiritual juriſdiction in ſuch ci-"ties or principalities, nor ſhall the proteſtants moleſt "the princes and ſtates that adhere to the church "of Rome; that no attempt ſhall be made for the "future, toward terminating religious differences,

9. Id. Ibid.

"except

"except by the gentle and pacific methods of perſuaſion and conference; that the ſupreme civil "power in every ſtate may eſtabliſh what form of "doctrine and worſhip it ſhall deem proper, but ſhall "permit thoſe who refuſe to conform, to remove "with their effects; that ſuch as had ſeized the be-"nefices or revenues of the church, previous to the "treaty of Paſſau, ſhall retain poſſeſſion of them, "and be ſubject to no proſecution in the imperial "chamber on that account; but if any prelate or ec-"cleſiaſtic ſhall hereafter abandon the Romiſh reli-"gion, he ſhall inſtantly relinquiſh his dioceſe or be-"nefice, and that it ſhall be lawful for thoſe in whom "the right of nomination is veſted, to proceed imme-"diately to an election, as if the office was vacant by "death or tranſlation [10].

THESE, my dear Philip, are the principal articles in the famous Receſs of Augſburg, which is the baſis of religious peace in Germany. The followers of Luther were highly pleaſed with that ſecurity which it afforded them, and the Catholics ſeem to have had no leſs reaſon to be ſatisfied. That article which preſerved entire to the Romiſh church the benefices of ſuch eccleſiaſtics as ſhould hereafter renounce its doctrines, at once placed a hedge around its patrimony, and effectually guarded againſt the defection of its dignitaries. But cardinal Caraffa, who was now raiſed to the papal throne, under the name of Paul IV. full of high ideas of his apoſtolic juriſdiction, and animated with the fierceſt zeal againſt hereſy, regarded the indulgence given to the Proteſtants, by an aſſembly compoſed of laymen, as an impious act of that power which the diet had uſurped. He therefore

10. Father Paul, lib. v. Pallavacini, lib. xiii.

threatened

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threatened the emperor and the king of the Romans with the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance, if they did not immediately declare the Receſs of Auſburg illegal and void; and as Charles ſhewed no diſpoſition to comply with this demand, the pope entered into an alliance with the French king, in order to ruin the imperial power in Italy.

DURING the negociation of that treaty, an event happened, which aſtoniſhed all Europe, and confounded the reaſonings of the wiſeſt politicians. The emperor Charles V. though no more than fifty-ſix, an age when objects of ambition operate with full force on the mind, and are generally purſued with the greateſt ardour, had for ſome time formed the reſolution of reſigning his hereditary dominions to his ſon Philip. He now determined to put it in execution. Various have been the opinions of hiſtorians concerning a reſolution ſo ſingular and unexpected; but the moſt probable ſeem to be, the diſappointments which Charles had met with in his ambitious hopes, and the daily decline of his health. He had early in life been attacked with the gout; and the fits were now become ſo frequent and ſevere, that not only the vigour of his conſtitution was broken, but the faculties of his mind were ſenſibly impaired. He therefore judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in ſome ſolitude, than to expoſe them any longer to the public eye; and as he was unwilling to forfeit the fame, or loſe the acquiſitions of his better years, by attempting to guide the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with ſteadineſs, he prudently determined to ſeek in the tranquillity of retirement, that happineſs, which he had in vain purſued

ſued amid the tumults of war and the intrigues of ſtate. LETTER LXIII. A. D. 155

In conſequence of this reſolution, Charles, who had already ceded to his ſon Philip the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, aſſembled the ſtates of the Low-Countries at Bruſſels; and, ſeating himſelf for the laſt time, in the chair of ſtate, he explained to his ſubjects the reaſons of his reſignation, and ſolemnly devolved his authority upon Philip. He recounted with dignity, but without oſtentation, all the great things which he had undertaken, and performed ſince the commencement of his adminiſtration: and that enumeration gives us the higheſt idea of his activity and induſtry. "I have dedicated," obſerved he, "from the ſeventeenth year of my age, all my "thoughts and attention to public objects, reſerving "no portion of my time for the indulgence of eaſe, "and very little for the enjoyment of private pleaſ- "ſure. Either in a pacific or hoſtile manner, I have "viſited Germany nine times; Spain ſix times; "France four times; Italy ſeven times; the Low- "Countries ten times; England twice; Africa as "often; and while my health permited me to diſ- "charge the duties of a ſovereign, and the vigour of "my conſtitution was equal in any degree to the ar- "duous office of governing ſuch extenſive domini- "ons, I never ſhunned labour, nor repined under fa- "tigue; but now when my health is broken, and my "vigour exhauſted by the rage of an incurable diſ- "temper, my growing infirmities admoniſh me to re- "tire; nor am I ſo fond of reigning as to retain the "ſceptre in an impotent hand, which is no longer "able to protect my ſubjects.

In-

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"INSTEAD of a ſovereign worn out with diſeaſes," continued he, "and ſcarce half alive, I give you one "in the prime of life, already accuſtomed to govern, "and who adds to the vigour of youth all the atten- "tion and ſagacity of maturer years." Then turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kiſſed his father's hand, "It is in your power," ſaid Charles, "by a wiſe and virtuous adminiſtration, to "juſtify the extraordinary proof which I give this day "of my paternal affection, and to demonſtrate that "you are worthy of the confidence which I repoſe in "you. Preſerve," added he, "an inviolable regard "for religion; maintain the Catholic faith in its "purity; let the laws of your country be ſacred in "your eyes; encroach not on the rights of your peo- "ple; and if the time ſhould ever come, when you "ſhall wiſh to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, "may you have a ſon, to whom you can reſign your "ſceptre with as much ſatisfaction as I give up mine "to you" A few weeks after, the emperor alſo reſigned to Philip the Spaniſh crown, with all the dominions depending upon it, in the Old as well as in the New World; reſerving nothing to himſelf, out of all thoſe vaſt poſſeſſions, but an annual penſion of one hundred thouſand ducats [11].

CHARLES was now impatient to embark for Spain, where he had fixed on a place of retreat. But, by the advice of his phyſicians, he put off his voyage for ſome months, on account of the ſeverity of the ſeaſon: and by yielding to their judgment, he had the ſatisfaction, before he left the Low-Countries, of taking a conſiderable ſtep towards a peace with France. This he ardently longed for; not only on his ſon's account, whoſe adminiſtration he wiſhed to

11. Godlev. *Relat. Abdicat. Car. V.* Thuan. lib. xvi. Sandov. vol. ii. Robertſon, book ix.

commence

commence in quietneſs, but that he might have the glory, when quitting the world, of reſtoring to Europe that tranquillity which his ambition had baniſhed from it, almoſt ſince the day that he aſſumed the reins of government. LETTER LXIII. A.D. 1555.

THE great bar againſt ſuch a pacification, on the part of France, was the treaty which Henry II. had concluded with the court of Rome; and the emperor's claims were too numerous to admit any hope of adjuſting them ſuddenly. A truce of five years was therefore propoſed by Charles, during which term, without diſcuſſing their reſpective pretenſions, each ſhould retain what was in his poſſeſſion; and Henry, through the perſuaſion of the conſtable Montmorency, who repreſented the imprudence of ſacrificing the true intereſts of his kingdom to the raſh engagements he had come under with the pope, authoriſed his ambaſſadors to ſign at Vaucelles a treaty, which would inſure to him, for ſo conſiderable a period, the important conqueſts which he had made on the German frontier, together with the greater part of the duke of Savoy's dominions.

PAUL IV. when informed of this tranſaction, was filled no leſs with terror and aſtoniſhment, than with rage and indignation. But he took equal care to conceal his fear and his anger. He affected to approve highly of the truce; and he offered his mediation, as the common father of Chriſtendom, in order to bring about a permanent peace. Under this pretext, he diſpatched cardinal Rebiba, as his nuncio, to the court of Bruſſels, and his nephew cardinal Caraffa, to that of Paris. The public inſtructions of both were the ſame; but Caraffa, beſides theſe, received a private commiſſion, to ſpare neither entreaties, promiſes, nor bribes, in

PART I. order to induce the French monarch to renounce the truce, and renew his engagements with the court of A.D. 1555. Rome. He flattered Henry with the conqueſt of Naples: he gained by his addreſs the Guiſes, the queen, and even the famous Diana of Poictiers, ducheſs of Valentinois, the king's miſtreſs: and they eaſily ſwayed the king himſelf, who already leaned to that ſide, towards which they wiſhed to incline him. All Montmorency's prudent remonſtrances were diſregarded. The nuncio, by powers from Rome, abſolved Henry A.D. 1556. from his oath of truce; and that raſh prince ſigned a new treaty with the pope, which rekindled with freſh violence the flames of war, both in Italy and the Low Countries.

No ſooner was Paul made acquainted with the ſucceſs of this negociation, than he proceeded to the moſt indecent extremities againſt Philip II. He ordered the Spaniſh ambaſſador to be impriſoned: he excommunicated the Colonnas, becauſe of their attachment to the imperial houſe; and he conſidered Philip as guilty of high treaſon, and to have forfeited his right to the kingdom of Naples, which he was ſuppoſed to hold of the Holy See, for afterward affording them a retreat in his dominions [12].

ALARMED at a quarrel with the pope, whom he had been taught to regard with the moſt ſuperſtitious veneration, as the vicegerent of Chriſt, and the common father of Chriſtendom, Philip tried every gentle method before he made uſe of force. He even conſulted ſome Spaniſh divines on the lawfulneſs of taking arms againſt a perſon ſo ſacred. They decided in his favour: and Paul continuing inexorable, the duke of

12. Pallav. lib. xiii.

Alva, to whom the conduct of the negociation as well as of the war had been committed, entered the Eccleſiaſtical State at the head of ten thouſand veterans, and carried terror to the gates of Rome. LETTER LXIII. A. D. 1556.

THE haughty pontiff, though ſtill obſtinate and undaunted himſelf, was forced to give way to the fears of the cardinals, and a truce was concluded for forty days. Meantime the duke of Guiſe arriving with an army of twenty thouſand French troops, Paul became more arrogant than ever, and baniſhed from his mind all thoughts but thoſe of war and revenge. The duke of Guiſe, however, who is ſuppoſed to have given his voice for this war, chiefly from a deſire of acquiring a field where he might diſplay his military talents, was able to perform nothing in Italy worthy of his former fame. He was obliged to abandon the ſiege of Civetella; he could not bring the duke of Alva to a general engagement; his army periſhed by diſeaſes, and the pope neglected to furniſh the neceſſary reinforcements. He begged to be recalled: and France ſtood in need of his abilities. A. D. 1557.

PHILIP II. though willing to have avoided a rupture, was no ſooner informed that Henry had violated the truce of Vaucelles, than he determined to act with ſuch vigour as ſhould convince all Europe, that his father had not erred in reſigning to him the reins of government. He immediately aſſembled in the Low Countries a body of fifty thouſand men: he obtained a ſupply of ten thouſand from England, which he had engaged, as we have ſeen, in this quarrel; and not being ambitious of military fame, he gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greateſt generals of that warlike age.

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THE duke of Savoy kept the enemy for a time in utter ignorance of his deſtination. At length he ſeemed to threaten Champagne, toward which the French drew all their troops; a motion which he no ſooner perceived than, turning ſuddenly to the right, he advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and laid ſiege to St. Quintin. It was deemed in that age a place of conſiderable ſtrength, but the fortifications had been much neglected, and the garriſon did not amount to a fifth part of the number requiſite for its defence: it muſt therefore have ſurrendered in a few days, if the admiral de Coligny had not taken the gallant reſolution of throwing himſelf into it with ſuch a body of men as could be ſuddenly collected for that purpoſe. He effected his deſign in ſpite of the enemy, breaking through their main body with ſeven hundred horſe, and two hundred foot. The town however was cloſely inveſted; and the conſtable Montmorency, anxious to extricate his nephew out of that perilous ſituation, in which his zeal for the public good had engaged him, as well as to ſave a place of great importance, raſhly advanced to its relief with forces one half inferior to thoſe of the enemy. His army was cut in pieces, and he himſelf made priſoner [13].

Aug. 10.

THE cautious temper of Philip, on this occaſion, ſaved France from devaſtation, if not ruin. The duke of Savoy propoſed to overlook all inferior objects, and march directly to Paris; of which, in its preſent conſternation, he could not have failed to make himſelf maſter. But the Spaniſh monarch, afraid of the conſequences of ſuch a bold enterprize, deſired him to continue the ſiege of St. Quintin, in order to ſecure a ſafe retreat, in caſe of any diſaſtrous event. The town, long and gallantly defended by Coligny, was

13. Thuan. lib. xix.

at

at laſt taken by ſtorm; but not before France was in a ſtate of defence. LETTER LXIII. A. D. 1557.

PHILIP was now ſenſible he had loſt an opportunity, that could never be recalled, of diſtreſſing his enemy, and contented himſelf with reducing Horn and Catelet: two pretty towns, which, together with St. Quintin, were the ſole fruits of one of the moſt deciſive victories gained in the ſixteenth century. The Catholic king, however, continued in high exultation, on account of his ſucceſs; and as all his paſſions were tinged with ſuperſtition, he vowed to build a church, a monaſtery and a palace, in honour of St. Lawrence, on the day ſacred to whoſe memory the battle of St. Quintin had been fought. He accordingly laid the foundation of an edifice, in which all theſe buildings were included, and which he continued to forward at vaſt expence, for twenty-two years. The ſame principle that dictated the vow, directed the conſtruction of the fabric. It was ſo formed as to reſemble a gridiron!—on which culinary inſtrument, according to the legendary tale, St. Lawrence had ſuffered martyrdom [14]. Such, my dear Philip, is the origin of the famous Eſcurial, near Madrid, the royal reſidence of the kings of Spain.

THE earlieſt account of that fatal blow which France had received at St. Quintin, was carried to Rome by the courier whom Henry had ſent to recall the duke of Guiſe. Paul remonſtrated warmly againſt the departure of the French army; but Guiſe's orders were peremptory. The arrogant pontiff therefore found it neceſſary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Ve-

14. Colmenar. *Annal. d'Eſpagn.* tom. ii.

PART I. A. D. 1557.

netians, and of Coſmo of Medicis, in order to obtain peace from Spain. The firſt overtures to this purpoſe were eagerly liſtened to by the Catholic king, who ſtill doubted the juſtice of his cauſe, and conſidered it as his greateſt misfortune to be obliged to contend with the pope. Paul agreed to renounce his league with France; and Philip ſtipulated on his part, that the duke of Alva ſhould repair in perſon to Rome, and after aſking pardon of the Holy Father in his own name, and in that of his maſter, for having invaded the patrimony of the church, ſhould receive abſolution from that crime!—Thus the pope, through the ſuperſtitious timidity of Philip, not only finiſhed an unpropitious war without any detriment to the apoſtolic ſee, but ſaw his conqueror humbled at his feet: and ſo exceſſive was the veneration of the Spaniards in that age for the papal character, that the duke of Alva, the proudeſt man perhaps of his time, and accuſtomed from his infancy to converſe with princes, acknowledged that when he approached Paul, he was ſo much over-awed, that his voice failed, and his preſence of mind forſook him [15].

But although this war, which at its commencement threatened mighty revolutions, was terminated without occaſioning any alteration in thoſe ſtates which were its immediate object, it produced effects of conſiderable conſequence in other parts of Italy. In order to detach Octavio Farneſe, duke of Parma, from the French intereſt, Philip reſtored to him the city of Placentia and its territory, which had been ſeized, as we have ſeen, by Charles V. And he granted to Coſmo of Medicis the inveſtiture of Siena, as an equiva-

15. Pallav. lib. xiii.

lent

lent for the ſums due to him [16]. By theſe treaties the balance of power among the Italian ſtates was poiſed more equally, and rendered leſs variable, than it had been ſince it received the firſt violent ſhock from the invaſion of Charles VIII. and Italy henceforth ceaſed to be the theatre on which the ſovereigns of Spain, France, and Germany, contended for fame and dominion. Their hoſtilities, excited by new objects, ſtained other regions of Europe with blood, and made other ſtates feel, in their turn, the calamities of war. LETTER I. A. D. 1557.

THE duke of Guiſe, who left Rome the ſame day that his adverſary the duke of Alva made his humiliating ſubmiſſion to the pope, was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. He was appointed commander in chief, with a juriſdiction almoſt unlimited; and, eager to juſtify the extraordinary confidence which the king had repoſed in him, as well as to perform ſomething ſuitable to the high expectations of his countrymen, he undertook the ſiege of Calais. A. D. 1558. The extraordinary ſucceſs of that enterprize, and its different effects upon the Engliſh and French nations, we have already had occaſion to obſerve. Guiſe next inveſted Thionville, in the duchy of Luxembourg, one of the ſtrongeſt towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and forced it to capitulate after a ſiege of three weeks. But the advantages in this quarter were more than balanced by an event which happened in another part of the Low Countries. The Mareſchal de Termes, governor of Calais, who had penetrated into Flanders, and taken Dunkirk, was totally routed near Gravelines, and taken priſoner by count Egmont [17]. This diſaſter obliged the duke of

16. Thuan. lib. xviii. 17. Thuan. lib. xx.

PART I. A.D. 1558. Guiſe to relinquiſh all his other ſchemes, and haſten to the frontiers of Picardy, that he might there oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy.

THE eyes of France were now anxiouſly turned toward the operations of a general on whoſe arms victory had always attended, and in whoſe conduct, as well as good fortune, his countrymen could confide in every danger. Guiſe's ſtrength was nearly equal to that of the duke of Savoy, each commanding about forty thouſand men. They encamped at the diſtance of a few leagues from one another; and the French and Spaniſh monarchs having joined their reſpective armies, it was expected that, after the viciſſitudes of war, a ſignal victory would at laſt determine which of the rivals ſhould take the aſcendant for the future in the affairs of Europe. But both monarchs, as if by agreement, ſtood on the defenſive; neither of them diſcovering any inclination, though each had it in his power, to reſt the deciſion of a point of ſuch importance on the iſſue of a ſingle battle.

DURING this ſtate of inaction, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip diſcovered an equal diſpoſition to liſten to any overture that tended to re-eſtabliſh it. The private inclinations of both kings concurred with their political intereſts and the wiſhes of their people. Philip languiſhed to return to Spain, the place of his nativity; and peace only could enable him, either with decency or ſafety, to quit the Low Countries. Henry was no leſs deſirous of being freed from the avocations of war, that he might have leiſure to turn the whole force of his government to the ſuppreſſing of the opinions of the reformers, which were ſpreading with ſuch rapidity in Paris

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Paris and the other great towns, that the proteſtants began to grow formidable to the eſtabliſhed church. Court intrigues conſpired with theſe public and avowed motives to haſten the negociation, and the abbey of Cercamp was fixed on as the place of congreſs [18]. A. D. 1558

WHILE Philip and Henry were making theſe advances toward a treaty, which reſtored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V. whoſe ambition had ſo long diſturbed it, but who had been for ſome time dead to all ſuch purſuits, ended his days in the monaſtery of St. Juſtus, in Eſtramadura, which he had choſen as the place of his retreat. It was ſeated in a valley of no great extent, watered by a ſmall brook, and ſurrounded by riſing grounds, covered with lofty trees. In this ſolitude Charles lived on a plan that would have ſuited a private gentleman of moderate fortune. His table was plain, his domeſtics few, and his intercourſe with them familiar. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands, ſometimes rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horſe, the only one which he kept, attended by a ſingle ſervant on foot: and when his infirmities deprived him of theſe more active recreations, he admitted a few gentlemen, who reſided near the monaſtery, to viſit him, and entertained them as equals; or he employed himſelf in ſtudying the principles, and in framing curious works of mechaniſm, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. But however he was engaged, or whatever might be the ſtate of his health, he always ſet apart a conſiderable portion of his time for religious exerciſes, regularly attending divine ſervice in the chapel of the monaſtery, morning and evening.

18. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book xii.

IN

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In this manner, not unbecoming a man perfectly diſengaged from the affairs of the world, did Charles paſs his time in retirement. But ſome months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermiſſion than uſual, returned with a proportional increaſe of violence, and enfeebled both his body and mind to ſuch a degree, as to leave no traces of that ſound and maſculine underſtanding which had diſtinguiſhed him among his cotemporaries. He ſunk into a deep melancholy. An illiberal and timid ſuperſtition depreſſed his ſpirit. He loſt all reliſh for amuſements of every kind, and deſired no other company but that of monks. With them he chanted the hymns in the Miſſal, and conformed to all the rigours of monaſtic life, tearing his body with a whip, as an expiation for his ſins!—Not ſatisfied with theſe acts of mortification, and anxious to merit the favour of Heaven by ſome new and ſingular inſtance of piety, he reſolved to celebrate his own obſequies. His tomb was accordingly erected in the chapel of the monaſtery; his attendants walked thither in funeral proceſſion. Charles followed them in his ſhroud. He was laid in his coffin, and the ſervice of the dead was chanted over him; he himſelf joining in the prayers that were put up for the repoſe of his ſoul, and mingling his tears with thoſe which his attendants ſhed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral [19].

The fatiguing length of this ceremony, or the awful ſentiments which it inſpired, threw Charles into a fever, of which he died in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His enterprizes ſpeak his moſt eloquent panegyric, and his hiſtory forms his higheſt character. As no prince ever governed ſo extenſive an empire, in-

19. Zunig. *Vit. de Carlos.* Robertſon, ubi ſup.

cluding

cluding his American dominions, none ſeems ever to have been endowed with a ſuperior capacity for ſway. His abilities as a ſtateſman, and even as a general, were of the firſt claſs; and he poſſeſſed in the moſt eminent degree, along with indefatigable induſtry, the ſcience which is of the greateſt importance to a monarch, that of diſcerning the characters of men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments in which they are to be employed. But, unfortunately for the reputation of Charles, his inſatiable ambition, which kept himſelf, his neighbours, and his ſubjects in perpetual inquietude, not only fruſtrated the chief end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care, but obliged him to have recourſe to low artifices, unbecoming his exalted ſtation, and led him into ſuch deviations from integrity, as were unworthy of a great prince. This inſidious policy, in itſelf ſufficiently deteſtable, was rendered ſtill more odious by a compariſon with the open and undeſigning character of Francis I. and ſerved, by way of contraſt, to turn on the French monarch a degree of admiration, to which neither his own talents nor his virtues as a ſovereign ſeem to have entitled him.

BEFORE Charles left the Low Countries, he made a ſecond attempt to induce his brother Ferdinand to give up his title to the imperial throne to Philip II. and to accept the inveſtiture of ſome provinces, either in Italy or the Netherlands, as an equivalent. But finding Ferdinand inflexible on that point, he deſiſted finally from his ſcheme, and reſigned to him the government of the empire. The electors made no heſitation in recognizing the king of the Romans, whom they put in poſſeſſion of all the enſigns of the imperial dignity, as ſoon as the deed of reſignation was preſented

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ſented to them; but Paul IV. whoſe lofty ideas of the papal prerogative neither experience nor diſappointments could moderate, refuſed to confirm the choice of the diet. He pretended that it belonged alone to the pope, from whom, as vicegerent of Chriſt, the imperial power was derived, to nominate a perſon to the vacant throne: and this arrogance and obſtinacy he maintained during his whole pontificate. Ferdinand I. however, did not enjoy the leſs authority as emperor.

Soon after the death of Charles V. Mary of England ended her ſhort and inglorious reign, and her ſiſter Elizabeth, as we have already ſeen, ſucceeded to the throne, to the general joy of the nation, notwithſtanding ſome ſuppoſed defects in her title. Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation with equal ſolicitude; and equally ſenſible of the importance of gaining her favour, both ſet themſelves with emulation to court it. Henry endeavoured, by the warmeſt expreſſions of regard and friendſhip, to detach her from the Spaniſh alliance, and to engage her to conſent to a ſeparate peace with him; while Philip, unwilling to loſe his connection with England, not only vied with Henry in declarations of eſteem for Elizabeth, and in profeſſions of his reſolution to cultivate the ſtricteſt amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himſelf to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a diſpenſation from the pope for that purpoſe.

Elizabeth weighed the propoſals of the two monarchs with that provident diſcernment of her true intereſt which was conſpicuous in all her deliberations; and although ſecretly determined to yield to the ſolicitations

licitations of neither, ſhe continued for a time to amuſe both. By this happy artifice, as well as by the prudence with which ſhe at firſt concealed her intentions concerning religion, the young queen ſo far gained upon Philip, that he warmly eſpouſed her intereſt in the conferences at Cercamp, and afterwards at Chateau Cambreſis, whither they were removed. The earneſtneſs, however, with which he ſeconded the arguments of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries began to relax in proportion as his proſpect of eſpouſing the queen became more diſtant; and the vigorous meaſures that Elizabeth took, as ſoon as ſhe found herſelf firmly ſeated on the throne, not only for overturning all that her ſiſter had done in favour of popery, but for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant church on a ſure foundation, convinced Philip, that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now deſperate. Henceforth decorum alone made him preſerve the appearance of interpoſing in her favour. Elizabeth, who expected ſuch an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it. But, as peace was neceſſary to her, inſtead of reſenting this coolneſs, ſhe became more moderate in her demands, in order to preſerve the feeble tie by which ſhe was ſtill united to him; and Philip, that he might not ſeem to have abandoned the Engliſh queen, inſiſted, that the treaty of peace between Henry and Elizabeth ſhould be concluded in form, before that between France and Spain[20].

LETTER LXIII.

A.D.1559.

THE treaty between Henry and Elizabeth contained no article of importance, except that which reſpected Calais. It was ſtipulated that the king of France ſhould retain poſſeſſion of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years, at the expiration of

20. Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. Forbes's *Full View*, vol. i.

which

PART I. A.D. 1559.

which term he ſhould reſtore it to England. But as the force of this ſtipulation was made to depend on Elizabeth's preſerving inviolate, during the ſame number of years, the peace both with France and Scotland, all men of diſcernment ſaw, that it was but a decent pretext for abandoning Calais; and, inſtead of blaming her, they applauded her wiſdom, in palliating what ſhe could not prevent.

THE expedient which Montmorency employed, in order to facilitate the concluſion of peace between France and Spain, was the negociating two treaties of marriage; one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldeſt daughter, and Philip II. the other between Margaret, Henry's only ſiſter, and the duke of Savoy. The principal articles of the treaty of peace were, That all conqueſts made by either party, on this ſide of the Alps, ſince the commencement of the war in 1551, ſhould be mutually reſtored; that the duchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the county of Breſſe, and all the other territories formerly ſubject to the dukes of Savoy, ſhould be reſtored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France, (a few towns excepted, which Henry ſhould retain, till his claims on that prince were decided in a court of law); that the French king ſhould immediately evacuate all the places which he held in the duchy of Tuſcany and the territory of Siena, and renounce all future pretenſions to them; that he ſhould receive the Genoeſe into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the iſland of Corſica. But he was allowed to keep poſſeſſion of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, becauſe Philip had little at heart the intereſts of his uncle Ferdinand. All paſt tranſactions, either of princes or ſubjects, it was agreed ſhould be buried in

in oblivion [21]. Thus the great cauſes of diſcord, that had ſo long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, ſeemed to be wholly removed, or finally terminated by this famous treaty, which re-eſtabliſhed peace in Europe; almoſt every prince and ſtate in Chriſtendom, being comprehended in the treaty of Chateau Cambreſis, as allies either of Henry or of Philip. A.D. 1559.

AMONG theſe contracting powers were included the kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland. This circumſtance naturally leads us to caſt an eye on thoſe countries, which we have not for ſome time had an opportunity of noticing, as they had no connexion with the general affairs of the continent. Meantime I muſt obſerve, for the ſake of perſpicuity, that Henry II. being killed in a tournament, while celebrating the eſpouſals of his ſiſter with the duke of Savoy, his ſon, Francis II. a weak prince, and under age, already married to the queen of Scots, ſucceeded to the crown of France. A few weeks after, Paul IV. ended his violent and imperious pontificate:—and thus, as a learned hiſtorian obſerves [22], all the perſonages who had long ſuſtained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe diſappeared at the ſame time.

AT this æra, my dear Philip, a more known period of hiſtory opens. Other actors appeared on the ſtage, with different views and paſſions; new conteſts aroſe; and new ſchemes of ambition, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, occupied and diſquieted mankind.—But before we enter on that period, we muſt take a view of the ſtate of the North.

21. *Recueil des Traitez*, vol. ii. 22. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book xii.

LETTER

LETTER LXIV.

SWEDEN, DENMARK, and NORWAY, from the Union of thoſe Kingdoms under MARGARET WALDEMAR, ſurnamed the SEMIRAMIS of the NORTH, to the Death of GUSTAVUS VASA; together with an Account of the State of RUSSIA, POLAND, and PRUSSIA, in the Sixteenth Century.

LETTER LXIV.

THE kingdoms of the north of Europe, that great ſtore-houſe of nations, I have hitherto chiefly conſidered as dependencies on the German empire, to which they long continued to pay ſome degree of homage. In what manner they were ſubjected to that homage, we have already had occaſion to obſerve, and alſo to notice the union of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, the ancient Scandinavia, under Margaret Waldemar, ſurnamed the Semiramis of the North.

MARGARET was daughter of Waldemar III. king of Denmark. She had been married to Hacquin, king of Norway, and ſon of Magnus III. king of
A. D. 1388. Sweden. On the death of her ſon Olaus, the laſt male heir of the three northern crowns, (which were, however, more elective than hereditary) ſhe ſucceeded, by the conſent of the ſtates, to the Daniſh throne ſoon after. She was elected queen of Norway, which ſhe had governed as regent; and the Swedes being oppreſſed by Albert of Mecklenburg, whom they had choſen king, made Margaret a ſolemn tender of their crown. She marched to their aſſiſtance, expelled Albert, and aſſumed the reins of government [1].

1. Puffend. Pontan.

BUT

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MARGARET's ambition, however, was not yet ſatisfied. The three northern crowns were no ſooner ſeated upon her head, than ſhe laboured to render their union perpetual. For this purpoſe, after taking preparatory meaſures, ſhe convoked the ſtates of all the three kingdoms to meet at Calmar; where it was A. D. 1397. eſtabliſhed as a fundamental law of the whole, that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, ſhould thenceforth have but one and the ſame ſovereign, who ſhould be choſen ſucceſſively by each of theſe kingdoms, and then approved by the other two; that each nation ſhould retain its own laws, cuſtoms, privileges, and dignities; and that the natives of one kingdom ſhould not be raiſed to poſts of honour or profit in another, but ſhould be reputed foreigners except in their own country [a].

BUT this union, ſeemingly ſo well calculated for the tranquillity as well as ſecurity of the North, proved the ſource of much diſcontent, and of many barbarous wars. The national antipathy between the Swedes and Danes, now heightened by national jealouſy, was with difficulty reſtrained by the vigorous adminiſtration of Margaret, whoſe partiality to the natives of Denmark is ſaid to have been but too evident; and under her ſucceſſor Eric, ſtill more unjuſtly partial to the Danes, the Swedes openly revolted, chuſing their grand-marſhal, Charles Canutſon, deſcended from the illuſtrious family of Bonde, which had formerly given kings to Sweden, firſt regent, and afterwards king. The Swedes, however, returned to their allegiance under Chriſtian I. of Denmark. But they A. D. 1442. again revolted from the ſame prince; again renewed

a. Meurſ. lib. v.

PART I. A.D. 1448.

the union of Calmar, under John his ſucceſſor; revolted a third time; and were finally ſubdued by the arms of Chriſtian I. who reduced them to the condition of a conquered people [3].

THE circumſtances of this laſt revolution are ſufficiently ſingular to merit our attention; and the conſequences, by which it was followed, render a recapitulation neceſſary.

THE Swedes, on revolting from Chriſtian I. had conferred the adminiſtration of the kingdom on Steen Sture, whoſe ſon, of the ſame name, ſucceeded him in the regency. The authority of young Sture was acknowledged by the body of the nation, but diſputed by Guſtavus Trolle, archbiſhop of Upſal, and primate of Sweden, whoſe father had been a competitor for the adminiſtration, and whom Chriſtian II. of Denmark had brought over to his intereſt. Beſieged in his caſtle of Stecka, and obliged to ſurrender, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the Daniſh monarch, the archbiſhop was degraded by the diet, and deprived of all his benefices. In his diſtreſs he applied to Leo X. who excommunicated the regent and his adherents, committing the execution of the bull to the king of Denmark. Purſuant to this decree, the Nero of the North, as Chriſtian II. is deſervedly called, invaded Sweden with a powerful army; but being worſted in a great battle, he pretended to treat, and offered to go in perſon to Stockholm, in order to confer with the regent, provided ſix hoſtages were ſent as a pledge of his ſafety. The propoſal was accepted: and ſix of the firſt nobility (among whom was

3. Vertot, *Revolut. Swed.*

Guſtavus

Guſtavus Vaſa, grand-nephew to king Canutſon) were put on board the Daniſh fleet. Theſe hoſtages Chriſtian carried priſoners to Denmark. Next year, he returned with a more formidable armament, and invaded Weſt Gothland; where Steen Sture advancing to give him battle, fell into an ambuſcade, and received a wound, which proved mortal. The Swediſh army, left without a head, firſt treated, and afterwards diſperſed. The ſenate was divided about the choice of a new regent, and the conqueror allowed them no leiſure to deliberate. He immediately marched toward the capital, waſting every thing before him with fire and ſword. Stockholm ſurrendered; and Guſtavus Trolle, reſuming his archiepiſcopal function, crowned Chriſtian king of Sweden.

LETTER LXVI. A.D. 1520.

THIS coronation was followed by one of the moſt tragical ſcenes in the hiſtory of the human race. Chriſtian, affecting clemency, went to the cathedral, and ſwore that he would govern Sweden, not with the ſevere hand of a conqueror, but with the mild and beneficent diſpoſition of a prince raiſed to the throne by the univerſal voice of the people; after which he invited the ſenators and grandees to a ſumptuous entertainment, that laſted for three days. Meanwhile a plot was formed for extirpating the Swediſh nobility. On the laſt day of the feaſt, in order to afford ſome pretext for the intended maſſacre, archbiſhop Trolle reminded the king, that though his majeſty, by a general amneſty, had pardoned all paſt offences, no ſatisfaction had yet been given to the pope, and demanded juſtice in the name of his Holineſs. The hall was immediately filled with armed men, who ſecured the gueſts: the primate proceeded againſt them as heretics; a ſcaffold was erected before the palace-

PART I. A.D. 1520.

gate; and ninety-four perſons of diſtinction, among whom was Eric Vaſa, father of the celebrated Guſtavus, were publicly executed for defending the liberties of their count[illegible]. Other barbarities ſucceeded to theſe: the rage of the ſoldiery was let looſe againſt the citizens, who were butchered without mercy; and the body of the late regent was dug from the grave, expoſed on a gibbet, quartered, and nailed up in different parts of the kingdom [4].

But Sweden ſoon found a deliverer and an avenger. Guſtavus Vaſa had eſcaped from his priſon in Denmark, and concealed himſelf, in the habit of a peaſant, among the mountains of Dalecarlia. There, deſerted by his ſole companion and guide, who carried off his little treaſure; bewildered, deſtitute of every neceſſary, and ready to periſh of hunger, he entered himſelf among the miners, and worked under ground for bread, without relinquiſhing the hope of one day aſcending the throne of Sweden. Again emerging to light, and diſtinguiſhed among the Dalecarlians by his lofty mien, and by the ſtrength and agility of his body, he had acquired a conſiderable degree of aſcendency over them, before they were acquainted with his rank. He made himſelf known to them at their annual feaſt, and exhorted them to aſſiſt him in recovering the liberties of their country. They liſtened to him with admiration: they were all rage againſt their oppreſſors; but they did not reſolve to join him, till ſome of the old men among them obſerved (ſo inconſiderable often are the cauſes of the greateſt events!) that the wind had blown directly from the north, from the moment that Guſtavus began to ſpeak. This they conſidered as an infallible

4. Id. Ibid.

ſign

LETTER LXIV.

ſign of the approbation of Heaven, and an order to take up arms under the banners of the hero: they already ſaw the wreath of victory on his brow, and begged to be led againſt the ene... Guſtavus did not ſuffer their ardour to cool. P... immediately attacked A. D. 1521. the governor of the province in his caſtle, took it by aſſault, and ſacrificed the Daniſh garriſon to the juſt vengeance of the Dalecarlians. Like animals that have taſted the blood of their prey, they were now furious, and fit for any deſperate enterprize. Guſtavus every where ſaw himſelf victorious, and gained partizans in all corners of the kingdom. Every thing yielded to his valour and good fortune. His popularity daily increaſed. He was firſt choſen regent, and A. D. 1523. afterwards king of Sweden [5].

MEANWHILE, Chriſtian II. become obnoxious by his tyrannies even to his Daniſh ſubjects, was degraded from the throne. The inhabitants of Jutland firſt renounced his authority. They deputed Munce, their chief juſtice, to ſignify to the tyrant the ſentence of depoſition. "My name," ſaid Munce, glorying in the dangerous commiſſion, "ought to be "written over the gates of all wicked princes!" and it ought certainly to be tranſmitted to poſterity, as a warning to both kings and inferior magiſtrates, of the danger of abuſing power. The whole kingdom of Denmark acquieſced in the decree; and Chriſtian, hated even by his own officers, and not daring to truſt any one, retired into the Low Countries, the hereditary dominions of his brother-in-law, Charles V. whoſe aſſiſtance he had long implored in vain [6].

5. Loccen. Puffend. Vertot. 6. Ibid.

PART I.

A.D. 1524. FREDERIC duke of Holſtein, Chriſtian's uncle, was elected king of Denmark and Norway. He aſpired alſo to the ſovereignty of Sweden; but finding Guſtavus firmly ſeated on the throne of that kingdom, he laid aſide his claim. Frederic afterwards entered into an alliance with Guſtavus and the Hanſe-towns, againſt the depoſed king, Chriſtian II. who, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to recover his crown, died in priſon: a fate too gentle for ſo barbarous a tyrant.

A.D. 1533. FREDERIC was ſucceeded in the Daniſh throne by his ſon, Chriſtian III. one of the moſt prudent and proſperous princes of his age. He eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant religion at the ſame time in Denmark and
A.D. 1537. Norway, in imitation of the example of Guſtavus who had already introduced it into Sweden. The doctrines of Luther had ſpread themſelves over both kingdoms, and both princes ſaw the advantage of retrenching the exorbitant power of the clergy. Chriſtian died in 1558, and Guſtavus in 1560, leaving behind him the glorious character of a patriot king [7]. He reſcued Sweden from the Daniſh yoke, by his valour: he made commerce and arts flouriſh, by his wiſe policy; and the liberality of his bold and independent ſpirit, by making him ſuperior to vulgar prejudices, enabled him to break the fetters of prieſtly tyranny, and enfranchiſe the minds as well as the bodies of his countrymen.

WHILE Denmark and Sweden were thus riſing to diſtinction, Ruſſia remained buried in that barbariſm and obſcurity, from which it was called about the beginning of the preſent century, by the creative genius of Peter the Great, who made his country known and

7. Vertot.

formidable

formidable to the reſt of Europe. But the names of patriots and of heroes, however rude or unenlightened, ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity. John Baſilowitz I. great-duke of Muſcovy, threw off the yoke of the Tartars, to whom Ruſſia had been long tributary; expelled the Tartar officers from Moſcow; invaded their territories; made himſelf maſter of Novogorod, and alſo of Caſſan, where he was crowned with the diadem of that country; and aſſumed the title of czar, which in the Sclavonian language ſignifies king or emperor. To theſe acquiſitions his grandſon, John Baſilowitz II. added Aſtracan, and alſo Siberia, hitherto as little known to the Ruſſians as Mexico was to the Spaniards before the expedition of Cortez, and as eaſily conquered. This prince ſent ambaſſadors to the court of England, and concluded a treaty of commerce with Elizabeth [8]; Richard Chancellor, an Engliſh navigator, having diſcovered ſome years before, by doubling the North Cape, the port of Archangel in the river Dwina.

LETTER LXVI.

A. D. 1470.

A. D. 1554.

A. D. 1569.

POLAND, ſtill a ſcene of anarchy, began to be of ſome conſideration in the North, after the race of the Jagellons came to the throne, and united Lithuania to that kingdom. Though the crown is elective, the ſucceſſion continued uninterrupted in the ſame family for almoſt two hundred years, and Sigiſmund I. contemporary with Charles V. was eſteemed a great prince [9]. But while the moſt inconſiderate of the nobles, by the word *veto* can prevent the enacting of the moſt ſalutary law; and while the great body of the people remain in a ſtate of ſlavery, Poland can never obtain any rank among civilized nations.—So true it is, my dear Philip, that the character of a people, their

8. Petreius. Camden. 9. Flor. Polon.

PART I. virtue, their genius, and their induſtry, depend chiefly on their civil and political inſtitutions!

PRUSSIA, which has lately made ſo great a figure in the affairs of Europe, was only erected into a kingdom in the year 1700. It was originally conquered from the Pagans of the North, by the knights of the Teutonic order, who held it upwards of there hundred years. At laſt Albert, margrave of Brandenburgh, grand-maſter of the order, embracing the doctrines of Luther, and willing to aggrandiſe himſelf at the expence of the knights, agreed to ſhare Pruſſia with his uncle, Sigiſmund I. king of Poland, on condition of paying homage for the protection of that crown. A. D. 1582. The propoſal was accepted. Albert took the title of duke in his new territory; hence the preſent kingdom is called Ducal Pruſſia, and that part in the poſſeſſion of Poland, and on the weſtern ſide of the Viſtula, Regal Pruſſia [19].

The future tranſactions of the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, I ſhall have occaſion to relate, as formerly, in treating of the affairs of the empire and the houſe of Auſtria. More intereſting objects at preſent claim our attention.

19. *Mem. de Brandenbourg*, tom. i.

LETTER

LETTER LXV.

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, *and* FRANCE, *from the Peace of* CHATEAU-CAMBRESIS, *in* 1559, *to the Death of* FRANCIS II. *and the Return of* MARY *Queen of* SCOTS *to her native Kingdom.*

LETTER LXV. A. D. 1559.

THE treaty of Chateau-Cambreſis, my dear Philip, though it re-eſtabliſhed peace, by ſettling the claims of the contending powers, by no means ſecured laſting tranquillity to Europe. The Proteſtant opinions had already made conſiderable progreſs both in France and the Low Countries; and Philip and Henry were equally reſolved to extirpate hereſy throughout their dominions. The horrors of the inquiſition, long familiar to Spain, were not only increaſed in that kingdom, but extended to Italy and the Netherlands; and although the premature death of Henry II. ſuſpended for a while the rage of perſecution in France, other cauſes of diſcord aroſe, and religion was made uſe of by each party, to light the flames of civil war [1].

A NEW ſource of diſcord alſo aroſe between France and England. The princes of Lorrain, the ambitious family of Guiſe, whoſe credit had long been great at the French court, and who had negociated the marriage between the dauphin, now Francis II. and their niece the queen of Scots, extended ſtill farther their ambitious views. No leſs able than aſpiring, they had governed both the king and kingdom, ſince the acceſſion of the young and feeble Francis. But they

1. Thuanus. Cabrera. Davila.

PART I. A. D. 1559.

had many enemies. Catharine of Medicis the queen-mother, a woman who ſcrupled at no violence or perfidy to accompliſh her ends; the two princes of the blood, Anthony de Bourbon king of Navarre, and his brother Lewis prince of Condé, beſides the conſtable Montmorency and his powerful family, were alike deſirous of the adminiſtration, and envious of the power of the Guiſes [2].

In order to acquire this power, the duke of Guiſe and his five brothers, the cardinal of Lorrain, the duke of Aumale, the cardinal of Guiſe, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the Grand Prior, men no leſs ambitious than himſelf, had not only employed the greateſt military and political talents, but to all the arts of inſinuation and addreſs had added thoſe of intrigue and diſſimulation. In negociating the marriage between their niece, Mary Stuart, and the dauphin, theſe artful princes, while they prevailed on the French court to grant the Scottiſh nation every ſecurity for the independency of that crown, engaged the young queen of Scots to ſubſcribe privately three deeds, by which, failing the heirs of her own body, ſhe conferred the kingdom of Scotland, with whatever inheritance or *ſucceſſion* might accrue to it, in free gift upon the crown of France; declaring any deed which her ſubjects had, or might extort from her to the contrary, to be void, and of no obligation [3].

By the ſucceſſion mentioned in theſe deeds, the crown of England ſeems to have been meant; for no ſooner were the Guiſes informed of the death of queen Mary, and the acceſſion of her ſiſter Elizabeth

2. Davila, lib. i. Mezeray, tom. v.

3. Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat.* tom. v. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* book ii.

(whoſe

(whoſe birth, in the opinion of every good Catholic, excluded her from any legal right to the throne) than they formed a project worthy of their ambition. In order to exalt ſtill higher their credit, and ſecure their power, they attempted to acquire alſo for France the ſouthern Britiſh kingdom. For this purpoſe they ſolicited at Rome, and obtained a bull, declaring Elizabeth's birth illegitimate; and as the queen of Scots, then married to the dauphin, was the next heir by blood, they perſuaded Henry II. to permit his ſon and daughter-in-law to aſſume the title and arms of England [4].

LETTER LXV.

A. D. 1559.

ELIZABETH complained of this inſult, by her ambaſſador at the court of France, but could obtain only an evaſive anſwer. No obvious meaſure however was taken, during the reign of Henry II. in ſupport of the claim of the queen of Scots; but no ſooner were the princes of Lorrain in full poſſeſſion of the adminiſtration, under his ſucceſſor, Francis II. than more vigorous and leſs guarded counſels were adopted. Senſible that Scotland was the quarter whence they could attack England to moſt advantage, they gave, as a preparatory ſtep, orders to their ſiſter, the queen-regent, and encouraged her by promiſes of men and money, to take effectual meaſures for humbling the Scottiſh malcontents, and ſuppreſſing the Proteſtant opinions in that kingdom; hoping that the Engliſh Catholics, formidable at that time by their zeal and numbers, and exaſperated againſt Elizabeth, on account of the change which ſhe had made in the national religion, would riſe in ſupport of the ſucceſſion of the queen of Scots, when animated by the proſpect of protection, and throw themſelves into the arms of

4. Robertſon, ubi ſup. Anderſon, *Diplom. Scot.* No. 68, and 164.

PART I. A. D. 1559.

France, as the only power that could ſecure to them their ancient worſhip, and the privileges of the Romiſh church [5].

No ſtranger to theſe violent counſels, Elizabeth ſaw her danger, and determined to provide againſt it. Meanwhile the ſituation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the inſult offered to her crown, and of defeating the ambitious views of France.

THE reformation was faſt advancing in Scotland. All the low country was deeply tinctured with the Proteſtant opinions; and as the converts to the new religion had been guilty of no violation of public peace ſince the murder of cardinal Beaton, whoſe death was partly occaſioned by private revenge, the queen-regent, willing to ſecure their favour, in order to enable her to maintain that authority which ſhe had found ſo much difficulty to acquire, connived at the progreſs of doctrines, which ſhe wanted power utterly to ſuppreſs. Too cautious, however, to truſt to this precarious indulgence for the ſafety of their religious principles, the heads of the Proteſtant party in Scotland entered privately into a bond of aſſociation for their mutual protection and the propagation of their tenets, ſtyling themſelves the *Congregation of the Lord*, in contradiſtinction to the eſtabliſhed church, which they denominated the *Congregation of Satan* [6].

SUCH aſſociations are generally the forerunners of rebellion; and it appears, that the heads of the Congregation in Scotland, carried their views farther than a mere toleration of the new doctrines. So

5. Forbes, vol. i. Thuan. lib. xxiv. 6. Keith. Knox.

far

far they were to blame, as enemies to civil authority; but the violent meaſures purſued againſt their ſect, before this league was known or avowed, ſufficiently juſtify the aſſociation itſelf, as the reſult of a prudent foreſight, and a neceſſary ſtep to ſecure the free exerciſe of their religion. Alarmed at the progreſs of the Reformation, the popiſh clergy had attempted to recover their ſinking authority by enforcing the tyrannical laws againſt hereſy; and Hamilton, the primate, formerly diſtinguiſhed by his moderation, had ſentenced to the flames an aged prieſt, convicted of embracing the Proteſtant opinions [7].

THIS was the laſt barbarity of the kind that the Catholics had the power to exerciſe in Scotland. The ſeverity of the archbiſhop rather rouſed than intimidated the reformers. The Congregation now openly ſolicited ſubſcriptions to their league; and not ſatisfied with new and more ſolemn promiſes of the regent's protection, they preſented a petition to her, craving a reformation of the church, and of the wicked, ſcandalous, and deteſtable lives of the clergy. They alſo framed a petition, which they intended to preſent to parliament, ſoliciting ſome legal protection againſt the exorbitant and oppreſſive juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts. They even petitioned the convocation; and inſiſted that prayers ſhould be ſaid in the vulgar tongue, that biſhops ſhould be choſen by the gentry of the dioceſe, and prieſts with the conſent of the pariſhioners.

INSTEAD of ſoothing the Proteſtants, by any prudent conceſſions, the convocation rejected their demands with diſdain; and the queen-regent, who had

7. Ibid.

hitherto

PART I. A.D. 1549.

hitherto wiſely temporiſed between the parties, and whoſe humanity and ſagacity taught her moderation, having received during the ſitting of this aſſembly the violent commands of her brothers, prepared to carry their deſpotic plan into execution, contrary to her own judgment and experience. She publicly expreſſed her approbation of the decrees, by which the principles of the reformers were condemned in the convocation, and cited the moſt eminent Proteſtant teachers to appear before the council at Stirling[8].

THE members of the Congregation, alarmed but not over-awed by this danger, aſſembled in great numbers, agreeable to the cuſtom of Scotland at that time, in order to attend their paſtors to the place of trial[9]; to protect and to countenance them: and the queen-regent, dreading the approach of ſo formidable a body, impowered Erſkine of Dun, a perſon of high authority with the reformers, to aſſure them, that ſhe would put a ſtop to the intended proceedings, provided they advanced no farther. They liſtened with pleaſure, and perhaps with too much credulity, to ſo pacific a propoſition: for men whoſe grievances oblige them to fly in the face of the civil power, under whatever plauſible pretext their purpoſe may be concealed, ſhould truſt to nothing leſs than the ſolemnity of a contract. The regent broke her promiſe, conformable to her maxim, that "the promiſes "of princes ought not to be too carefully remember-"ed, nor the performance of them exacted, unleſs it

8. Melvil Jebb. Caſtelneau.

9. In conſequence of this cuſtom, originally introduced by vaſſalage and clanſhip, and afterwards tolerated through the feebleneſs of government, any perſon of eminence accuſed of a crime, was accompanied to the place of trial by a body of his friends and adherents. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* book ii.

ſuits

ſuits their own conveniency." She proceeded to call to trial the perſons formerly ſummoned, and on their not appearing, though purpoſely prevented, they were pronounced outlaws [10]. LETTER LXV. A.D.1559.

BY this ignoble artifice, the queen-regent forfeited the eſteem and confidence of the whole nation. The Proteſtants boldly prepared for their own defence; and Erſkine, enraged at being made the inſtrument of deceiving his party, inſtantly repaired to Perth, whither the leaders of the Congregation had retired, and inflamed the zeal of his aſſociates, by his repreſentations of the regent's inflexible reſolution to ſuppreſs their religion. His ardour was powerfully ſeconded by the rhetoric of John Knox, a preacher poſſeſſed of a bold and popular eloquence. Having been carried priſoner into France, together with other perſons taken in the caſtle of St. Andrews, ſoon after the murder of cardinal Beaton, Knox had made his eſcape out of that kingdom; and, after reſiding ſometimes in England, ſometimes in Scotland, had found it neceſſary, in order to avoid the vengeance of the popiſh clergy, to retire to Geneva. There he imbibed all the enthuſiaſm, and heightened the natural ferocity of his own character by the ſevere doctrines of Calvin, who had ſucceeded Zuinglius in the apoſtleſhip of that republic, and completed its eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment.

INVITED home by the heads of the Proteſtant party in Scotland, Knox had arrived in his native country a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling, and immediately joined his brethren, that he might ſhare with them in the common danger, as

10. Knox, p. 127. Robertſon, book ii.

well

PART I. A.D. 1559.

well as in the glory of promoting the common cauſe. In the preſent ferment of men's minds, occaſioned by the regent's deceitful conduct, and the ſenſe of their own danger, he mounted the pulpit, and declaimed with ſuch vehemence againſt the idolatry, and other abuſes of the church of Rome, that his audience were ſtrongly incited to attempt its utter ſubverſion. During thoſe movements of holy indignation, the indiſcreet bigotry of a prieſt, who immediately after that violent invective, was preparing to celebrate maſs, and had opened all his repoſitory of images and reliques, hurried the enthuſiaſtic populace into immediate action. They fell with fury upon the devout catholic, broke the images, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, and ſcattered about the ſacred vaſes. They next proceeded to the monaſteries, againſt which their zeal more particularly pointed its thunder. Not content with expelling the monks, and defacing every implement of idolatrous worſhip, as they termed it, they vented their rage upon the buildings which had been the receptacles of ſuch abomination; and, in a few hours, thoſe ſuperb edifices were almoſt level with the ground [11].

PROVOKED at theſe violences, and others of a like kind, the queen-regent aſſembled an army, compoſed chiefly of French troops; and being aſſiſted by ſuch of the nobility as ſtill adhered to her cauſe, ſhe determined to inflict the ſevereſt vengeance on the whole Proteſtant party. Intelligence of her preparations, as well as of the ſpirit by which ſhe was actuated, ſoon reached Perth; and the heads of the Congregation, who had given no countenance to the late inſurrection in that city, would gladly have ſoothed her by the

11. Spotſwood, p. 121. Knox, p. 127, 128. Robertſon, book ii. Hume, chap. xxxviii.

moſt

moſt dutiful and ſubmiſſive addreſſes, but finding her inexorable, they prepared for reſiſtance, and their adherents flocked to them in ſuch numbers that, within a few days they were in a condition not only to defend the town, but to take the field with ſuperior forces. Neither party, however, diſcovered much inclination to hazard a battle, both being afraid of the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a trial of ſtrength; and through the mediation of the earl of Argyle, and of James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the young queen's natural brother, who, although cloſely connected with the reformers, had not yet openly deſerted the regent, a treaty was concluded with the Congregation. LETTER LXV. A. D. 1559.

In this treaty it was ſtipulated, among other proviſions, That indemnity ſhould be granted to all perſons concerned in the late inſurrection, and that the parliament ſhould immediately be aſſembled, in order to compoſe religious differences. Both theſe ſtipulations the queen-regent broke—by neglecting to call the parliament, by fining ſome of the inhabitants of Perth, baniſhing others, turning the magiſtrates out of office, and leaving a garriſon in the town, with orders to allow the exerciſe of no other religion but the Roman Catholic [12]. The Proteſtants renewed their league, and had again recourſe to arms; deſpoiling, wherever they turned their route, the churches of their ſacred furniture, and laying the monaſteries in ruins. New treaties were concluded, and again broken, and new ravages were committed on the monuments of eccleſiaſtical pride and luxury.

Meanwhile the Congregation had been joined not only by the earl of Argyle and the prior of St.

12. Buchanan, lib. xvi. Robertſon, book ii.

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Andrews, but alſo by the duke of Chatelrault and his ſon the earl of Arran, the preſumptive heirs of the crown, and had poſſeſſed themſelves of the capital. They now aimed at the redreſs of civil as well as religious grievances; requiring, as a preliminary toward ſettling the kingdom, and ſecuring its liberties, the immediate expulſion of the French forces out of Scotland. The queen-regent, ſenſible of the neceſſity of giving way to a torrent which ſhe could not reſiſt, amuſed them for a time with fair promiſes and pretended negociations; but being reinforced with a thouſand foreign troops, and encouraged by the court of France to expect ſoon the arrival of an army ſo powerful as the zeal of her adverſaries, however deſperate, would not dare to encounter, ſhe liſtened to the raſh counſels of her brothers, and at laſt gave the Congregation a poſitive denial. She was not anſwerable to the confederate lords, ſhe ſaid, for any part of her conduct: nor ſhould ſhe, upon any repreſentation from them, abandon meaſures which ſhe deemed neceſſary, or diſmiſs forces that ſhe found uſeful; ordering them, at the ſame time, on pain of her diſpleaſure, and as they valued their allegiance, to diſband the troops which they had aſſembled.

THIS haughty reply to their earneſt and continued ſolicitations, determined the leaders of the Congregation to take a ſtep worthy of a brave and free people.

October 21. They aſſembled the whole body of peers, barons, and repreſentatives of boroughs, that adhered to their party; and the members of this bold convention (which equalled in number, and exceeded in dignity, the uſual meetings of parliament), after examining the moſt delicate and important queſtion that can poſſibly fall under the conſideration of ſubjects, "the "obedience

"obedience due to an unjuſt and oppreſſive adminiſ- LETTER
"tration," gave their ſuffrage, without one diſſent- LXV.
ing voice, for depriving Mary of Guiſe of the office A. D. 1559.
of regent, which ſhe had exerciſed ſo much to the detriment of the kingdom [13].

THE queen-dowager had already retired into Leith, the ſea-port of Edinburgh, which ſhe had fortified, and garriſoned with French troops, and where ſhe daily expected new reinforcements. Leith was immediately inveſted by the forces of the Congregation; but the confederate lords ſoon found, that their zeal had engaged them in an undertaking which exceeded their ability to accompliſh. The French garriſon, deſpiſing the tumultuous efforts of raw and undiſciplined troops, refuſed to ſurrender the town; and the Proteſtant leaders were neither ſufficiently ſkilful in the art of war, nor poſſeſſed of the artillery or magazines neceſſary for the purpoſe of a ſiege. Nor was this their only misfortune: their followers, accuſtomed to decide every quarrel by immediate action, were ſtrangers to the fatigues of a long campaign, and ſoon became impatient of the ſevere and conſtant duty which a ſiege requires. They firſt murmured, then mutinied: the garriſon took advantage of their diſcontents; and making a bold ſally, cut many of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to abandon the enterprize.

SOON after this victory, the queen-dowager received from France a new reinforcement of a thouſand veteran foot, and ſome troops of horſe. Theſe, together with a detachment from the garriſon of Leith, were ſent out to ſcour the country, and to pillage and lay

13. Id. Ibid. Knox, p. 184.

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waſte the houſes and lands of the Proteſtants. Already broken and diſpirited, and hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, the queen-dowager's brother, was ſuddenly expected with a great army, the leaders of the Congregation began to conſider their cauſe as deſperate, unleſs the Lord, whoſe holy name they had aſſumed, ſhould miraculouſly interpoſe in their behalf. But whatever confidence they might place in divine aid, they did not neglect human means.

THE Scottiſh Proteſtants, in this preſſing extremity, thought themſelves excuſable in craving foreign help. They turned their eyes toward England, which had already ſupplied them with money, and reſolved to implore the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth to enable them to finiſh an undertaking, in which they had ſo fatally experienced their own weakneſs; and as the ſympathy of religion, as well as regard to civil liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animoſity againſt that ſiſter-kingdom, this meaſure was the reſult of inclination no leſs than of intereſt or neceſſity. Maitland of Lethington, formerly the regent's principal ſecretary, and Robert Melvil, already acquainted with the intrigues of courts, were therefore ſecretly diſpatched, as the moſt able negociators of the party, to ſolicit ſuccours from the queen of England.

THE wiſe counſellors of Elizabeth did not long heſitate in agreeing to a requeſt, which correſponded ſo perfectly with the views and intereſts of their miſtreſs. Secretary Cecil, in particular, repreſented to the Engliſh queen the neceſſity, as well as equity, of interpoſing in the affairs of Scotland, and of preventing the conqueſt of that kingdom, at which France openly aimed.

aimed. Every ſociety, he obſerved, has a right to defend itſelf, not only from preſent dangers, but from ſuch as may probably enſue; that the invaſion of England would immediately follow the reduction of the Scottiſh malcontents, by the abandoning of whom to the mercy of France, Elizabeth would open a way for her enemies into the heart of her own kingdom, and expoſe it to all the calamities of war, and the danger of conqueſt. Nothing therefore remained, he added, but to meet the enemy while yet at a diſtance, and by ſupporting the leaders of the Congregation with an Engliſh army, to render Scotland the ſcene of hoſtilities; to cruſh the deſigns of the princes of Lorrain in their infancy; and by ſuch an early and unexpected effort, finally to expel the French out of Britain, before their power had time to grow up to any formidable height [14].

LETTER LXV.

A.D. 1559.

ELIZABETH, throughout her whole reign, was cautious but deciſive; and by her promptitude in executing her reſolutions, joined to the deliberation with which ſhe formed them, her adminiſtration became as remarkable for its vigour as for its wiſdom. No ſooner did ſhe determine to afford aſſiſtance to the leaders of the Congregation, a meaſure to which the reaſoning of Cecil effectually ſwayed her, than they experienced the activity as well as extent of her power. The ſeaſon of the year would not permit her troops to take the field; but, leſt the French army ſhould, in the mean time receive an acceſſion of ſtrength, ſhe inſtantly ordered a ſquadron to cruiſe in the Frith of Forth, and early in the ſpring an Engliſh army, conſiſting of ſix thouſand foot and two thouſand

14. Keith, Append. No. XVII. Forbes, vol. i. Jebb, vol. i.

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horſe, entered Scotland, under the command of lord Grey of Wilton.

THE leaders of the Congregation aſſembled from all parts of the kingdom to meet their new allies; and having joined them with vaſt numbers of their followers, the combined army advanced toward Leith. The French, little able to keep the field againſt ſo ſuperior a force, confined themſelves within the walls of the fortification. The place was immediately inveſted; and although the fleet that carried the reinforcement under the marquis of Elbeuf had been ſcattered by a violent ſtorm, and was either wrecked on the coaſt of France, or with difficulty recovered the ports of that kingdom, the garriſon, by an obſtinate defence, protracted the ſiege to a great length [15].

MEANTIME the queen-dowager died; and many of the Catholic nobles, jealous of the French power, and more zealous for the liberty and independency of their country than for their religion, ſubſcribed the alliance with England. Nothing therefore could now ſave the garriſon of Leith, but the immediate concluſion of a treaty, or the arrival of a powerful army from France: and the ſituation of that kingdom conſtrained the princes of Lorrain to turn their thoughts, though with reluctance, toward pacific meaſures.

THE Proteſtants in France were become formidable by their numbers, and ſtill more by the valour and enterpriſing genius of their leaders. Among theſe, the moſt eminent were the prince of Condé, the king

15. *Mem. de Caſtelneau.*

of

of Navarre (no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his abilities than his rank), the admiral de Coligny, and his brother Andelot, who no longer ſcrupled to make open profeſſion of the reformed opinions, and whoſe high reputation both for valour and conduct gave great credit to the cauſe. Animated with zeal, and inflamed with reſentment againſt the Guiſes, who had perſuaded Frances II. to imitate the rigour of his father, by reviving the penal ſtatutes againſt hereſy, the Proteſtants or Hugonots, as they were ſtyled by way of reproach, not only prepared for their own defence, but reſolved, by ſome bold action, to anticipate the execution of thoſe ſchemes which threatened the extirpation of their religion, and the ruin of thoſe who profeſſed it. Hence the famous conſpiracy of Amboiſe, where they intended to ſeize the perſon of the king, and wreſt the government out of the hands of the Guiſes, if not to diſpatch them; and although the vigilance and good fortune of the princes of Lorrain diſcovered and diſappointed that deſign, the ſpirit of the Proteſtant party was rather rouſed than broken by the tortures inflicted on the conſpirators[16]. The admiral de Coligny had even the boldneſs to preſent to the king, in a grand council at Fontainbleau, a petition from the Hugonots, demanding the public exerciſe of their religion, unleſs they were allowed to aſſemble privately with impunity. He was treated as an incendiary by the cardinal of Lorrain; but his requeſt was warmly ſeconded by Monluc, biſhop of Valence, and by Marillac, archbiſhop of Vienne, who both ſpoke with force againſt the abuſes which had occaſioned ſo many troubles and diſorders, as well as againſt the ignorance and vices of the French clergy. An aſſembly

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A. D. 1560.

March 15.

16. Davila, lib. i, ii. Mezeray, tom. v.

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of the ſtates was convoked, in order to appeaſe the public diſcontents: the edicts againſt heretics were, in the meantime, ſuſpended, and an appearance of toleration ſucceeded to the rage of perſecution; but the ſentiments of the court were well known, and it was eaſy to obſerve new ſtorms gathering in every province of the kingdom, and ready to break forth with all the violence of civil war [17].

THIS diſtracted ſtate of affairs, called off the ambition of the princes of Lorrain from the view of foreign conqueſts, in order to defend the honour and dignity of the French crown, and made it neceſſary to withdraw the few veteran troops already employed in Scotland, inſtead of ſending new reinforcements into that kingdom. Plenipotentiaries were therefore ſent to Edinburgh, where a treaty was ſigned with the ambaſſadors of Elizabeth. In this treaty, it was ſtipulated, that the French forces ſhould inſtantly evacuate Scotland, and that Francis and Mary ſhould thenceforth abſtain from aſſuming the title of king and queen of England, or bearing the arms of that kingdom. Nor were the conceſſions granted to the Congregation leſs important; namely, that an amneſty ſhould be publiſhed for all paſt offences; that none but natives ſhould be put into any office in Scotland; that no foreign troops ſhould hereafter be introduced into the kingdom without the conſent of parliament; that the parliament ſhould name twenty-four perſons, out of whom the queen ſhould chuſe ſeven, and the parliament five, and in the hands of theſe twelve, ſo elected, ſhould the whole adminiſtration be veſted during Mary's abſence; that ſhe ſhould neither make

July 6.

17. Davila, lib. ii. Mezeray, ubi ſup.

peace

peace nor war without the conſent of parliament; and that the parliament, at its firſt meeting, which was fixed to a certain day, ſhould take into conſideration the religious differences, and repreſent its ſenſe of them to the king and queen [18]. LETTER A. D. 1560.

A FEW days after the concluſion of this treaty, both the French and Engliſh armies quitted Scotland; and the leaders of the Congregation being now abſolute maſters of the kingdom, made no farther ſcruple or ceremony in completing the work of reformation. The parliament, which was properly an aſſembly of the nobles, or great barons, and dignified clergy, met on the day named; and on this occaſion the burgeſſes and leſſer barons, who had alſo a right to be preſent in that aſſembly, but who ſeldom exerciſed it, ſtood forth to vindicate their civil and religious liberties, eager to aid with their voice in the ſenate, that cauſe which they had defended with their ſword in the field. The Proteſtant members, who greatly out-numbered their adverſaries, after ratifying the principal articles of the late treaty, and giving their ſanction to a Confeſſion of Faith, preſented to them by their teachers, prohibited the exerciſe of religious worſhip according to the rites of the Romiſh church, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods, as the puniſhment of the firſt act of diſobedience; baniſhment, as the puniſhment of the ſecond; and death as the reward of the third [19]. With ſuch indecent haſte did the very perſons who had juſt eſcaped the rigour of eccleſiaſtical tyranny, proceed to imitate thoſe examples of ſeverity, of which they had ſo juſtly complained! A law was alſo paſſed for aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in Scot-

18. Keith. Spotſwood. Knox. 19. Ibid.

land;

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land; and the Preſbyterian form of worſhip was eſtabliſhed, nearly as now conſtituted in that kingdom.

FRANCIS and Mary refuſed to ratify theſe proceedings; which, by the treaty of Edinburgh, ought to have been preſented for approbation, in the form of deliberations, not of acts. But the Scottiſh Proteſtants gave themſelves little trouble about their ſovereign's refuſal. They immediately put the ſtatutes in execution: they aboliſhed the maſs; they ſettled their miniſters; and they committed furious devaſtations on the ſacred buildings, which they conſidered as dangerous reliques of idolatry, laying waſte every thing venerable and magnificent, that had eſcaped the ſtorm of popular inſurrection. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the ſepulchres of the dead, periſhed in one common ruin [20].

UNITED by the conſciouſneſs of ſuch unpardonable ſtretches of authority, and well acquainted with the imperious character of the princes of Lorrain, the Proteſtant part of the Scottiſh parliament, ſeeing no ſafety for themſelves but in the protection of England, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Elizabeth, to expreſs their ſincere gratitude for her paſt favours, and repreſent to her the neceſſity of continuing them. Elizabeth, on her part, had equal reaſon to deſire an union with theſe northern reformers. Though the diſorders in France had obliged the princes of Lorrain to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cauſe of the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms, they were determined not to relinquiſh their authority, or yield to the violence of their enemies. Nor had they yet laid

20. Robertſon, book iii. Hume, chap. xxxviii.

aſide

aſide their deſign of ſubverting Elizabeth's throne. Francis and Mary, whoſe councils were ſtill wholly directed by them, obſtinately refuſed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and perſiſted in aſſuming the title and arms of England. Aware of the danger attending ſuch pretenſions, Elizabeth not only promiſed ſupport to the Proteſtant party in Scotland, but ſecretly encouraged the French malcontents[21]: and it was with pleaſure that ſhe heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the court of France, and of the formidable oppoſition againſt the meaſures of the duke of Guiſe. LETTER LXV. A. D. 1560.

BUT that oppoſition muſt ſoon have been cruſhed by the vigorous and deciſive adminiſtration of the princes of Lorrain, if an unexpected event had not ſet bounds to their power. They had already found an opportunity of ſeizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé: they had thrown the former into priſon; they had obtained a ſentence of death againſt the latter; and they were proceeding to put it in execution, when the ſudden death of Francis II. arreſted the upliſted blow, and brought down the duke of Guiſe to the level of a ſubject. Catharine of Medicis the queen-mother, was appointed guardian to her ſon Charles IX. only ten years of age at his acceſſion, and inveſted with the adminiſtration of the realm, though not with the title of regent. In conſequence of her maxim "divide and govern!" the king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the ſentence againſt Condé was annulled; the conſtable Montmorency was recalled to court; and the princes of Lorrain, though they ſtill enjoyed high offices and Dec. 4. A. D. 1561.

21. Id. Ibid.

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great power, found a counterpoiſe to the weight of their influence [22].

THE death of Francis II. without iſſue by the queen of Scots, and the change which it produced in the French councils, at once freed the queen of England from the perils attending an union of Scotland with France, and the Scottiſh Proteſtants from the terror of the French power. The joy of the Congregation was extreme. They aſcribed thoſe events to the immediate interpoſition of Providence, in favour of his choſen people; and Elizabeth, without looking ſo high for their cauſes, determined to take advantage of their effects, in order more firmly to eſtabliſh her throne. She ſtill regarded the queen of Scots as a dangerous rival, on account of the number of Engliſh Catholics, who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, and would now adhere to her with more zealous attachment, when they ſaw that her ſucceſſion no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom. She therefore gave orders to her ambaſſador at the court of France, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her immediate ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh [23].

MARY, ſlighted by the queen-mother, who imputed to that princeſs all the mortifications ſhe had met with during the life of Francis; forſaken by the ſwarm of courtiers, who appear only in the ſunſhine of proſperity, and overwhelmed with all the ſorrow which ſo ſad a reverſe of fortune could occaſion, had retired to Rheims; and there, in ſolitude, indulged her grief, or hid her indignation. But notwithſtand-

22. *Mem. de Caſtelneau.* Davila, lib. ii. 23. Keith. Caſtleneau.

ing

ing her diſconſolate condition, and though ſhe had deſiſted after her huſband's death from bearing the arms, or aſſuming the title of England, ſhe ſtill eluded ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, and refuſed to make any ſolemn renunciation of her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown [24]. A.D. 1561

MEANWHILE James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, her natural brother, arrived at Rheims, in deputation from the ſtates of Scotland, inviting the queen to return into her native kingdom, and aſſume the reins of government. But Mary, though ſeverely ſenſible ſhe was no longer queen of France, was in no haſte to leave a country, where ſhe had been educated from her earlieſt infancy, and where ſo many attentions had been paid to her perſon as well as to her rank. Accuſtomed to the elegance, gallantry, and gaiety of a ſplendid court, and to the converſation of a poliſhed people, by whom ſhe had been loved and admired, ſhe ſtill fondly lingered in the ſcene of all theſe enjoyments, and contemplated with horror the barbariſm of her own country, and the turbulence of her native ſubjects, who had ſo violently ſpurned all civil and religious authority. By the advice of her uncles, however, ſhe determined at laſt to ſet out for Scotland; and as the courſe in ſailing from France to that kingdom, lies along the Engliſh coaſt, ſhe demanded of Elizabeth, by the French ambaſſador, D'Oiſel, a ſafe-conduct during her voyage. That requeſt, which decency alone obliged one ſovereign to grant to another, Elizabeth rejected in ſuch a manner as gave riſe to no ſlight ſuſpicion of a deſign either to obſtruct the paſſage or intercept the perſon of the queen of Scots [25].

24. Ibid. 25. Keith. Camden. Robertſon, Append. No. VI.

THIS

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THIS ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth filled Mary with indignation, but did not retard her departure from France. Having cleared the room of her attendants, ſhe ſaid to Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, "How weak I may prove, or how far "a woman's frailty may tranſport me, I cannot tell; "however, I am reſolved not to have ſo many wit- "neſſes of my infirmity as your miſtreſs had at her "audience of my ambaſſador D'Oiſel. There is no- "thing diſturbs me ſo much, as having aſked with "ſo much importunity a favour, which it was of "no conſequence for me to obtain. I can, with "God's leave, return to my own country, without "her leave, as I came to France in ſpite of all the "oppoſition of her brother, king Edward: neither "do I want friends both able and willing to conduct "me home, as they have brought me hither; though "I was deſirous rather to make an experiment of "your miſtreſs's friendſhip, than of the aſſiſtance of "any other perſon [26]." She embarked on board a galley at Calais; and paſſing the Engliſh fleet, under cover of a thick fog, arrived ſafely at Leith, attended by the duke of Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, three of her uncles of the houſe of Lorrain, together with the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers [27].

Aug. 19.

THE circumſtances of Mary's departure from France are truly affecting. The exceſs of her grief ſeems to have proceeded from a fatal preſage of that ſcene of misfortune on which ſhe was about to enter. Not ſatisfied with mingling tears with her mournful attendants, and bidding them adieu with a ſorrowful

26. Cabala, p. 374. Spotſwood, p. 177.
27. Robertſon, book iii.

heart,

heart, ſhe kept her eyes fixed upon the French coaſt, after ſhe was at ſea, and never turned them from that darling object, till darkneſs fell, and intercepted it from her view. Even then, ſhe would neither retire to the cabin, nor taſte food, but commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, ſhe there waited, with fond impatience, the return of day. Fortune ſoothed her on this occaſion. The weather proving calm, the galley made but little way during the night, ſo that Mary, at morning, had once more an opportunity of ſeeing the French coaſt. She ſat up on her couch, and ſtill anxiouſly looking toward the land, often repeated with a ſigh, "Farewel, France! farewel, beloved country, which I ſhall never more behold [28]!"

LETTER LXV. A. D. 1561.

THE reception of the queen of Scots in her native kingdom, the civil wars of France, and the ſhare which Elizabeth took in the affairs of both kingdoms, muſt furniſh the ſubject of another letter.

28. Brantome—He himſelf was in the ſame galley with the queen.

LETTER LXVI.

FRANCE, ENGLAND, *and* SCOTLAND, *from the Return of* MARY STUART *to her native Kingdom, in* 1561, *till her Impriſonment, and the Proclamation of her Son* JAMES VI. *together with a retroſpective View of the Affairs of* SPAIN.

LETTER LXVI.

A.D. 1561.

THE firſt appearance of affairs in Scotland, was more favourable than Mary had reaſon to expect. She was received by her ſubjects with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, and every demonſtration of welcome and regard. Being now in her nineteenth year, the bloom of youth, and the beauty and gracefulneſs of her perſon, drew univerſal admiration, while her elegant manners and enlightened underſtanding commanded general reſpect. To the accompliſhments of her own ſex, ſhe added many of the acquiſitions of our's. She was ſkilled in moſt languages, ancient as well as modern. The progreſs ſhe had made in poetry, muſic, rhetoric, and all the arts and ſciences then eſteemed uſeful or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by the ſons or daughters of royalty, who are born and educated as the immediate heirs of a crown; and a courteous affability, which, without leſſening the dignity of a ſovereign, ſteals on the hearts of ſubjects with a bewitching inſinuation, rendered all her other qualities more engaging [1].

THE firſt meaſures of Mary's adminiſtration confirmed the prepoſſeſſions entertained in her favour.

1. Robertſon, book iii. from Brantome.

Accord-

LETTER LXV.

According to the advice of D'Oiſel and her uncles, ſhe beſtowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the Proteſtant party [2], who were alone able, ſhe found, to ſupport her government. The prior of St. Andrews, her natural brother, whom ſhe ſoon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and under him, Maitland of Lethington, a man of great ſagacity, had a principal ſhare in her confidence. Her choice could not have fallen upon perſons more agreeable to her people. A. D. 1561.

But there was one circumſtance which blaſted all theſe promiſing appearances, and deprived Mary of that general favour which her amiable manners and prudent meaſures gave her juſt reaſon to expect. She was ſtill a papiſt; and although ſhe publiſhed, ſoon after her arrival, a proclamation enjoining every one to ſubmit to the reformed religion, as eſtabliſhed by parliament [3], the more zealous Proteſtants could neither be reconciled to a perſon polluted by ſuch an abomination, nor lay aſide their jealouſies of her future conduct. It was with much difficulty ſhe obtained permiſſion to celebrate Maſs in her own chapel. "Shall that Idol again be ſuffered to be erected with-"in the realm?" was the common cry; and the uſual prayers in the churches were, that God would turn the queen's heart, which was obſtinate againſt his truth; or if his holy will were otherwiſe, that he would ſtrengthen the hearts and *hands* of the elect, ſtoutly to oppoſe the rage of all tyrants [4]. Nay, lord Lindſey and the gentlemen of Fife exclaimed, "The "*Idolater* ſhall die the death!"

2. Id. ibid. 3. Knox. Spotſwood. Keith. 4. Ibid.

PART I. A. D. 1561.

THE ringleader in all theſe inſults on majeſty was John Knox; who poſſeſſed an uncontrouled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious uſage of his ſovereign. His uſual appellation for the queen was JEZABEL; and though ſhe endeavoured by the moſt gracious condeſcenſion to win his favour, all her kind advances could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. The pulpits became mere ſtages for railing againſt the voices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feaſting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their neceſſary attendant [5].

CURBED in all amuſements, by the abſurd ſeverity of theſe reformers, Mary, whoſe age, condition, and education, invited her to liberty and chearfulneſs, found reaſon every moment to look back with a ſigh to that country which ſhe had left. After the departure of the French courtiers, her life was one ſcene of bitterneſs and ſorrow. And ſhe perceived that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity, while ſurrounded by a turbulent nobility, a bigotted people, and inſolent eccleſiaſtics, was to preſerve a friendly correſpondence with Elizabeth; who, by former connections and ſervices, had acquired much authority over all ranks of men in Scotland. She therefore ſent Maitland of Lethington to London, in order to pay her compliments to the Engliſh queen, and expreſs a deſire of future good underſtanding between them. Maitland was alſo inſtructed, to ſignify Mary's willingneſs to renounce all preſent right to the crown of England, provided ſhe was declared, by act of parliament, next heir to the ſucceſſion, in caſe the queen ſhould die without offspring [6]. But ſo great was the jealous

5. Knox, p. 332, 333. 6. Keith. Camden. Haynes.

pru-

prudence of Elizabeth, that she never would hazard the weakening of her authority by naming a successor, or allow the parliament to interpose in that matter; much less would she make, or permit such a nomination to be made, in favour of a rival queen, who possessed pretensions so plausible to supplant her, and who, though she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Sensible, however, that reason would be thought to lie wholly on Mary's side, as she herself had frequently declared her resolution to live and die a *virgin-queen*, she thenceforth ceased to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; and though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on all the appearance of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other [5].

ELIZABETH saw, that without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects. Having therefore no apprehensions from Scotland, nor any desire to take part at present in its affairs, she directed her attention to other objects. After concerting the necessary measures for the security of her kingdom and the happiness of her people, she turned an eye of observation toward the great powers on the continent. France being still agitated by religious factions, big with all the horrors of civil war, excited less the jealousy than the compassion of its neighbours; so that Spain, of all the European kingdoms, could alone be considered as the formidable rival of England. Accordingly an animosity, first political, then personal, soon appeared between the sovereigns of the two crowns.

PHILIP II. as has been already observed, immediately after concluding the peace of Chateau-Cambre-

7. Ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1561.

ſis, commenced a furious perſecution againſt the Proteſtants in Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries. That violent ſpirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated, gave new edge even to the uſual cruelty of prieſts and inquiſitors. He threw into priſon Conſtantine Ponce, who had been confeſſor to his father, Charles V. and in whoſe arms that great prince had breathed his laſt. This venerable eccleſiaſtic died in confinement; but Philip ordered nevertheleſs, the ſentence of hereſy to be pronounced againſt his memory. He even deliberated whether he ſhould not exerciſe like ſeverity againſt the memory of his father, who was ſuſpected, during his latter years, of indulging a propenſity towards Lutheraniſm. In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition. He appeared, with an inflexible countenance, at the moſt barbarous executions; and he iſſued rigorous orders for the proſecution of heretics, even in his American dominions[8]. The limits of the globe ſeemed only enlarged to extend human miſery.

HAVING founded his deliberate tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, Philip made it evident to all his ſubjects, that there was no means of eſcaping the ſeverity of his vengeance, except by the moſt abject compliance or obſtinate reſiſtance. And by thus placing himſelf at the head of the Catholic party, the determined champion of the Romiſh church, he every where converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partizans of Spaniſh greatneſs.

HAPPILY the adherents of the new doctrines were not without a ſupporter, nor the Spaniſh greatneſs

8. Thuanus, lib. xxiii. Grotius, *Annal.* lib. i. Miniana, lib. v.

without

without a counterpoiſe. The courſe of events had placed Elizabeth in a ſituation diametrically oppoſite to that of Philip. Fortune guiding choice, and concurring with policy and inclination, had raiſed her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the ſtay of the numerous, but generally perſecuted Proteſtants throughout Europe. And ſhe united her intereſts, in all foreign negociations, with thoſe who were ſtruggling for their civil and religious liberties, or guarding themſelves againſt ruin and extermination. Hence the animoſity between her and Philip. LETTER LXVI. A. D. 1561.

WHILE the queen of Scots continued in France, and aſſerted her claim to the ſouthern Britiſh kingdom, the dread of uniting England to the French monarchy, engaged the king of Spain to maintain a good correſpondence with Elizabeth. But no ſooner did the death of Francis II. put an end to Philip's apprehenſions in regard to Mary's ſucceſſion, than his rancour began openly to appear, and the intereſts of Spain and England were found oppoſite in every negociation and public tranſaction. Philip, contrary to the received maxims of policy in that age, ſaw an advantage in ſupporting the power of the French monarchy; and Elizabeth, by a concurrence of circumſtances no leſs ſingular, in protecting a faction ready to ſubvert it.

CATHERINE of Medicis, the queen-mother of France, in conſequence of her maxim of dividing in order to govern, only increaſed the troubles of the ſtate. By balancing the Catholics againſt the Proteſtants, the duke of Guiſe againſt the prince of Condé, ſhe endeavoured to render herſelf neceſſary to both, and to eſtabliſh her own dominion on their conſtrain-

PART I. A. D. 1562.

ed obedience. But an equal counterpoiſe of power, which among foreign nations, is the ſource of tranquility, proves always the cauſe of quarrel among domeſtic factions; and if the animoſities of religion concur with the frequent occaſions of mutual injury, it is impoſſible to preſerve, for any time, a firm concord in ſuch a ſituation. Moved by zeal for the ancient faith, the conſtable Montmorency joined himſelf to the duke of Guiſe; the king of Navarre, from his inconſtant temper, and his jealouſy of the ſuperior genius of his brother, embraced the ſame party; and the queen-mother, finding herſelf depreſſed by this combination, had recourſe to Condé and the Hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themſelves by her countenance and protection [9].

An edict had been publiſhed in the beginning of the year, granting to the Hugonots or Proteſtants, the free exerciſe of their religion, without the walls of towns; provided they taught nothing contrary to the council of Nice, to the Apoſtles Creed, or the books of the Old and New Teſtament. This edict had been preceded by a famous conference, held at Poiſſy, between the divines of the two religions; in which the cardinal of Lorrain, on the part of the Catholics, and the learned Theodore Beza, on that of the Proteſtants, diſplayed, beyond others, their eloquence and powers of argument. The proteſtant divines boaſted of having greatly the advantage in the diſpute, and the conceſſion of liberty of conſcience, made their followers happy in that opinion. But the intereſted violence of the duke of Guiſe, or the intemperate zeal of his attendants, broke once more the tranquillity of

9. Davila, lib. ii.

religion,

religion, and gave a beginning to a frightful civil war. Paſſing by the little town of Vaſſy, on the frontiers of Champagne, where ſome Proteſtants having aſſembled in a barn under the ſanction of the edict, were peacably worſhipping God in their own way, his retinue wantonly inſulted them. A tumult enſued: the duke himſelf was ſtruck, it is ſaid, with a ſtone; and ſixty of the unarmed multitude were ſacrificed in revenge of that pretended or provoked injury, and in open violation of the public faith [10]. LETTER LXVI. A. D. 1562.

THE Proteſtants over all the kingdom, were alarmed at this maſſacre, and aſſembled in arms under Condé, Coligny, and Andelot, their moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders; while the duke of Guiſe and the conſtable Montmorency, having got poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, obliged the queen-mother to join the Catholic party. Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France. Each province, each city, each family was diſtracted with inteſtine rage and animoſity. The father was divided againſt the ſon, brother againſt brother; and women themſelves, ſacrificing their humanity, as well as their timidity, to the religious fury, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by acts of valour and cruelty [11]. Wherever the Proteſtants prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demoliſhed, the monaſteries conſumed with fire; and where ſucceſs attended the Catholics, they burned the Bibles, re-baptiſed the infants, and forced married perſons to paſs anew through the ceremony [12]. Plunder, deſolation, and blood-ſhed, attended equally the triumph of both parties: and, to uſe the words of a profound hiſto-

10. Hanault. Mezeray. Dupleix. 11. Davila, lib. iii. Haynes, p. 391. 12. Id. Ibid.

PART I. A. D. 1562.

rian, it was during this period, when men began to be ſomewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for poliſhed manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, ſeems to have attained its laſt ſtage of virulence and acrimony [13].

PHILIP II. jealous of the progreſs of the Hugonots, who had made themſelves maſters of Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Poitiers, Tours, Angiers, Angouleſme, Rouen, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, and other places of leſs note; and afraid that the contagion might ſpread into the Low Countries, had formed a ſecret alliance with the princes of Lorrain, for the protection of the ancient faith, and the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. In conſequence of that alliance, he now ſent ſix thouſand men to reinforce the Catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himſelf unable to oppoſe ſo ſtrong a confederacy countenanced by royal authority, was obliged to crave the aſſiſtance of the queen of England. As an inducement, he offered to put her in poſſeſſion of Havre de Grace; on condition that, together with three thouſand men for the garriſon of the place, ſhe ſhould likewiſe ſend over other three thouſand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and furniſh him with a ſupply of one hundred thouſand crowns [14].

ELIZABETH, beſides the general and eſſential intereſt of ſupporting the Proteſtants, and oppoſing the rapid progreſs of her enemy the duke of Guiſe, had other motives to induce her to accept of this propoſal. She was now ſenſible, that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article in the treaty of Chateau-Cambreſis,

13. Hume, chap. xxxix. 14. Forbes, vol. ii.

which

which regarded the reſtitution of Calais; and wiſely concluded that could ſhe get poſſeſſion of Havre de Grace, which commands the mouth of the Seine, ſhe ſhould eaſily conſtrain the French to execute their engagements, and have the honour of reſtoring Calais to England. She therefore ſent over immediately three thouſand men, under the command of ſir Edward Poynings, and three thouſand more ſoon after, under the earl of Warwick, who took poſſeſſion of Havre. But Rouen having been inveſted by the Catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and the conſtable Montmorency, before the arrival of the Engliſh, it was with difficulty that Poynings could throw a ſmall reinforcement into the place; and although the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the ſiege, the Catholics ſtill continued the attack with vigour. The town was at laſt carried by aſſault, and the garriſon and inhabitants put to the ſword [15].

LETTER LXVI. A.D. 1564.

It was now expected that the Catholics, flushed with ſucceſs, would immediately form the ſiege of Havre, which was as yet in no ſtate of defence; but the inteſtine diſorders of the kingdom diverted their attention to another enterprize. Andelot, ſeconded by the negociations of Elizabeth, had levied a conſiderable army in Germany; and arriving at Orleans, the ſeat of the Proteſtant power in France, he enabled the prince of Condé and Coligny to take the field, and oppoſe the progreſs of their enemies. After threatening Paris for ſome time, they took their march toward Normandy, with a view of engaging the Engliſh to act in conjunction with them. The Catholics commanded by Montmorency, and under him by the duke of Guiſe, hung on the rear of the Hugonots,

15. Davila, lib. iii.

and

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and overtaking them near Dreux, obliged them to give
A. D. 1562. battle. The field was fought with much obſtinacy on both ſides, and the action was diſtinguiſhed by a very ſingular event. Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the oppoſite armies, both remained priſoners in the hands of their enemies: and what is yet more ſingular, the prince not only ſupped at the ſame table, but lay all night in the ſame bed with his hoſtile rival the duke of Guiſe [16]! So unaccountable were the manners of that age, which could blend the moſt rancorous animoſity with a familiar hoſpitality, that appears altogether diſguſting in theſe days of ſuperior refinement.

THE ſemblance of victory remained with the Catholics. But Coligny, whoſe lot it was ever to be defeated, and ever to riſe more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the proteſtant army, and inſpiring his own unconquerable courage into every breaſt, not only kept them in a body, but took ſome conſiderable places in Normandy; and Elizabeth, in order to enable him to ſupport the cauſe of his party, ſent over a new ſupply of an hundred thouſand crowns. Meanwhile the duke of Guiſe, aiming a mortal blow at the power of the Hugonots, had
A. D. 1563. commenced the ſiege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where Montmorency was detained priſoner: and he had the proſpect of ſpeedy ſucceſs in his undertaking, when he was aſſaſſinated by a young gentleman, named Poltrot, whoſe fanatical zeal for the intereſts of the proteſtant religion inſtigated him to that atrocious violence [17].

THE death of this great man was an irreparable loſs to the catholic party. His brother the cardinal of

16. Id. Ibid. 17. Mezeray, tom. v.

Lorrain,

Lorrain, though eloquent, ſubtle, and intriguing, wanted that enterpriſing and undaunted ſpirit, which had rendered the ambition of the duke ſo formidable; and therefore, though he ſtill purſued the bold ſchemes of his family, the danger of their progreſs appeared not now ſo imminent either to Elizabeth or the French Proteſtants. Of courſe, the union between theſe allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, was in ſome meaſure looſened; and the leaders of the Hugonots were perſuaded to liſten to terms of a ſeparate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency, equally tired of captivity, accordingly held conferences for that purpoſe, and ſoon came to an agreement with reſpect to the conditions. A toleration of their religion, under certain reſtrictions, was again granted to the Proteſtants; a general amneſty was publiſhed, and every one was reinſtated in his offices, dignities, and all civil rights and privileges [18]. LETTER LXVI. A.D. 1563.

The leaders of the Proteſtants only comprehended Elizabeth ſo far in this treaty, as to obtain a promiſe, that, on her relinquiſhing Havre de Grace, her charges and the money which ſhe had advanced them, ſhould be repaid her by the king of France; and that Calais, on the expiration of the ſtipulated term, ſhould be reſtored to her. Diſdaining to accept theſe conditions, ſhe ſent Warwick orders to prepare himſelf againſt an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy. The garriſon of Havre conſiſted of ſix thouſand men, independent of ſeven hundred pioneers: and a reſolute defence was expected. But a contagious diſtemper made its appearance among the Engliſh troops; and being increaſed by their fatigue and bad diet, made ſuch ravages in a ſhort time, that there did not remain fifteen hundred men in a condition to

18. Davila, lib. iii.

do

PART I. A. D. 1563. do duty. Warwick, who had frequently warned the Engliſh miniſtry of his danger, and loudly demanded a ſupply of men and proviſions, was therefore obliged to capitulate, and content himſelf with the liberty of withdrawing his garriſon [19].

ELIZABETH, whoſe uſual vigour and foreſight had failed her in this tranſaction, now found it neceſſary to accede to a compromiſe; and as the queen-mother of France deſired to obtain leiſure, in order to concert meaſures for the extirpation of the Hugonots, ſhe readily hearkened to any reaſonable terms of accommodation with England. It was accordingly agreed, that the hoſtages which the French had given for the reſtitution of Calais, ſhould be delivered up for two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns; and that both parties ſhould retain all their pretenſions [20].

PEACE ſtill ſubſiſted between England and Scotland; and a cordial friendſhip even ſeemed to have taken place between Elizabeth and Mary. They made profeſſions of the moſt ſincere affection: they wrote complimentary letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the ſentiments as well as the ſtyle of ſiſters. But the negociations for the marriage of the queen of Scots awakened anew the jealouſy of Elizabeth, and roufed the zeal of the Scottiſh reformers. Mary's hand was ſolicited by the archduke Charles, the emperor's third ſon; by Don Carlos, heir apparent to the Spaniſh monarchy; and by the duke of Anjou, her former huſband's brother, who ſucceeded ſoon after to the crown of France. Either of thoſe foreign alliances would have been alarm-

A. D. 1564.

19. Forbes, vol. ii. 20. Davila, lib. iii.

ing

ing to Elizabeth, and to Mary's Proteſtant ſubjects. She therefore reſolved, notwithſtanding the arguments of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain, to ſacrifice her ambition to domeſtic peace; and as Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Lennox, was the firſt Britiſh ſubject whom ſound policy ſeemed to point out to her choice, ſhe determined to make him the partner of her ſway [21]. LETTER LXVI. A. D. 1563.

DARNLEY was Mary's couſin-german by lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He was, after herſelf, next heir to the Engliſh crown. He was alſo, by his father, a branch of her own family; and would, in eſpouſing her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had conſtantly reſided, ſince baniſhed by the prevailing power of the houſe of Hamilton; and as Elizabeth had often intimated to the queen of Scots, that nothing would ſo completely allay all jealouſy between them, as Mary's eſpouſing an Engliſh nobleman, [22] the proſpect of the ready approbation of that rival queen was an additional motive for the propoſed marriage. A. D. 1564.

BUT although Mary, as a queen, ſeemed to be ſolely influenced by political conſiderations in the choice of a royal conſort, ſhe had other motives, as a woman, for ſingling out Darnley as a huſband. He was in the full bloom and vigour of youth, tall and well proportioned, and ſurpaſſed all the men of his time in every exterior grace. He eminently excelled in all the arts, which diſplay a handſome perſon to

21. Forbes, vol. ii. 22. Keith.

advan-

PART I. A.D. 1564.

advantage, and which, in poliſhed nations, are dignified with the name of elegant accompliſhments. Mary was at an age, and of a complexion, to feel the force of ſuch attractions. Lord Darnley accordingly made a conqueſt of her heart at their firſt interview. And it cannot be doubted but ſhe made a deep impreſſion upon his. Thus inclination conſpired with policy to promote their union; nor was it once ſuſpected, that any oppoſition would be made by the Engliſh queen.

SECRETLY Elizabeth was not diſpleaſed with Mary's choice; as it freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the neceſſity of parting with the earl of Leiceſter, her own handſome favourite, whom ſhe had propoſed as a huſband to the queen of Scots. But beſides a womaniſh jealouſy and envy, proceeding from a conſciouſneſs of Mary's ſuperior charms, which led her on all occaſions to thwart the matrimonial views of that princeſs, certain ungenerous political motives induced her to ſhew a diſapprobation of the projected marriage with Darnley, though ſhe either did not wiſh, or was ſenſible that ſhe could not obſtruct it. By declaring her diſſatisfaction with Mary's conduct, Elizabeth hoped to alarm the party in Scotland that was attached to the Engliſh intereſt; and to raiſe, by their means, inteſtine commotions, which would not only ſecure her own kingdom from all diſturbance on that ſide, but enable her to become the umpire between the Scottiſh queen and her contending ſubjects [23].

THE ſcheme immediately ſucceeded in part, and afterward had its full effect. The earl of Murray,

23. Ibid.

and

and other Proteſtant noblemen, were the dupes of Elizabeth's intrigues. Under pretence of zeal for the reformed religion, becauſe the family of Lennox was believed to adhere to the Catholic faith, but in reality to ſupport their own ſinking authority, they formed among themſelves bonds of confederacy and mutual defence. They entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh reſident, in order to ſecure Elizabeth's aſſiſtance, when it ſhould become neceſſary; and deſpairing of being able to prevent the marriage of the queen of Scots by any other means, they concerted meaſures for ſeizing Darnley, and carrying him priſoner into England [24]. They failed, however, in the attempt; and Mary having obtained the general conſent of the Scottiſh nation, and being anxious to bring to a period an affair which had long engaged her heart, and occupied her attention, celebrated her marriage with the captivating young nobleman who had been the object of their conſpiracy.

A.D. 1564.

A.D. 1565. July 19.

Conscious that all hopes of reconciliation were now at an end, the aſſociated lords aſſembled their followers and flew to arms; but by the vigour and activity of Mary, who appeared herſelf at the head of her troops, rode with loaded piſtols, and endured, with admirable fortitude, all the fatigues of war, the rebels were obliged to fly into England [25]. There they met with a reception very different from what they expected, and which ſtrongly marks the character of Elizabeth. That politic princeſs had already effectually ſerved her purpoſe, by exciting in Scotland, through their means, ſuch diſcord and jealouſies as would in all probability long diſtract and weaken Mary's government. It was now her buſineſs to ſave

24. Melvil. 25. Keith, *Append.*

appear-

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appearances; and as the malcontents had failed of ſucceſs, ſhe thought proper to diſavow all connexions with them. She would not even grant an audience to the earl of Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning, appointed by the other fugitives to wait on her, till they had meanly conſented to acknowledge, in the preſence of the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who accuſed her of fomenting the troubles in Scotland by her intrigues, that ſhe had given them no encouragement to take up arms. "You have ſpoken the truth!" —replied ſhe, as ſoon as they had made this declaration:—"I am far from ſetting an example of rebel-"lion to my own ſubjects, by countenancing thoſe "who rebel againſt their lawful ſovereign. The trea-"ſon of which you have been guilty, is deteſtable; "and as traitors, I baniſh you my preſence [26]."—So little feeling had ſhe for men, who out of confidence in her promiſes, had hazarded their lives and fortunes to ſerve her!

THE Scottiſh exiles, finding themſelves ſo harſhly treated by Elizabeth, had recourſe to the clemency of their own ſovereign; and Mary, whoſe temper naturally inclined her to lenity, ſeemed determined to reſtore them to favour, when the arrival of an ambaſſador from France altered her reſolution [27]. The peace granted to the reformers in that kingdom, was intended only to lull them aſleep, and prepare the way for their final and abſolute deſtruction. For this purpoſe, an interview had been appointed at Bayonne, between Charles IX. now in his ſixteenth year, and his ſiſter the queen of Spain. Catharine of Medicis ac-

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26. Melvil. 27. Ibid.

companied

companied her ſon; the duke of Alva attended his miſtreſs. Gaity, feſtivity, love, and joy, ſeemed to be the ſole occupation of both courts; but under theſe ſmiling appearances was hatched a ſcheme the moſt bloody, and the moſt deſtructive to the repoſe of mankind, that had ever been ſuggeſted by ſuperſtition to the human heart. Nothing leſs was reſolved upon and concerted than the extermination of the Hugonots in France, the Proteſtants in the Low Countries, and the extinction of the Reformed opinions throughout all Europe[28].

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Of this Catholic or *Holy League* (for ſo that deteſtable conſpiracy was called) an account was brought, by the French ambaſſador, to the queen of Scots; conjuring her, at the ſame time, in the name of the king of France, and the cardinal of Lorrain, not to reſtore the leaders of the Proteſtants in her kingdom to power and favour, at the very time when the Popiſh princes on the continent, were combined for the total extirpation of that ſect[29]. Deeply tinctured with all the prejudices of popery, and devoted with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion to her uncles, the princes of Lorrain, whoſe counſels from her infancy ſhe had been accuſtomed to receive with filial reſpect, Mary inſtantly joined the confederacy:—and hence the change of her reſolution in regard to the baniſhed lords[30].

The effects of this new ſyſtem were ſoon viſible in the conduct of the queen of Scots. The parlia-

28. Thuan. lib. xxxvii. Davila, lib. iii.
29. Melvil. 30. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* Append. No. XIII.

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ment was ſummoned for the attainder of the rebels, whoſe guilt was palpable, and ſome meaſures were concerted for re-eſtabliſhing the Romiſh religion in Scotland [31]; ſo that the ruin of Murray and his party ſeemed now inevitable, and the deſtruction of the reformed church no diſtant event, when an unexpected incident ſaved both, and brought on, in the ſequel, the ruin of Mary herſelf.

THE incident to which I allude, is the murder of David Rizio; a man whoſe birth and education afforded little reaſon to ſuppoſe that he ſhould ever attract the hiſtorian's notice, but whoſe tragical death, and its conſequences, make it neceſſary to record his adventures. The ſon of a teacher of muſic at Turin, and himſelf a muſician, Rizio had accompanied the Piedmonteſe ambaſſador into Scotland, where he gained admittance into the queen's family by his ſkill in his profeſſion; and as Mary found him neceſſary to complete her muſical band, ſhe retained him in her ſervice, by permiſſion, after the departure of his maſter. Shrewd, ſupple, and aſpiring beyond his condition, he quickly crept into the queen's favour; and her French ſecretary happening to retire into his own country, ſhe promoted Rizio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunity of approaching her perſon, and of inſinuating himſelf ſtill farther into her good graces. He now began to make a figure at court, and to appear as a man of weight and conſequence: and he availed himſelf ſo well of the acceſs which fortune had procured him, that he was ſoon regarded not only as the queen's chief confidant, but even as her miniſter. To him the whole train of ſui-

[31] Keith, p. 316.

tors

tors and expectants applied; and among the reſt Darnley, whoſe marriage Rizio promoted, in hopes of acquiring a new patron, while he co-operated with his miſtreſs's wiſhes. LETTER LXVI. A D. 1566.

But this marriage, ſo natural and ſo inviting in all its circumſtances, diſappointed the expectations both of the queen and her favourite, and terminated in events the moſt ſhocking to humanity. Allured by the ſtature, ſymmetry, and exterior accompliſhments of Darnley, Mary in her choice had overlooked the qualities of his mind, which correſponded ill with thoſe of his perſon. Violent, yet variable in his temper, ſhe could neither by her gentleneſs bridle his inſolent and imperious ſpirit, nor preſerve him by her vigilance from raſh and imprudent actions. Of mean underſtanding, but, like moſt fools, conceited of his own abilities, he was devoid of all gratitude, becauſe he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleaſures, to drunkenneſs and debauchery, he was incapable of any true ſentiments of love or tenderneſs [32]. All Mary's fondneſs and generoſity made no laſting impreſſion on ſuch a heart. He became, by degrees, careleſs of her perſon, and a ſtranger to her company. To a woman and a queen ſuch behaviour was intolerable; but more eſpecially to Mary, who poſſeſſed great ſenſibility of temper, and who in the firſt effuſions of her love, had taken a pride in exalting her huſband beyond meaſure. She had granted him the title of King, and had joined his name with her own in all public acts. Her diſappointed paſſion was therefore as violent, when rouſed into reſentment, as her firſt affection had been ſtrong; and his

32. Goodal, vol i. Robertſon, book iv.

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behaviour appeared ungenerous and criminal, in proportion to the diſtance ſhe had ſtooped to raiſe him, and the honour and conſequence to which ſhe had lifted him.

THE heart ſore from the wounds and the agitations of unrequited love, naturally ſeeks the repoſe, the conſolation, and the lenient aſſuaſives of friendſhip. Rizio ſtill poſſeſſed the confidence of Mary; and as the brutal behaviour of her huſband rendered a confidant now more neceſſary, ſhe ſeems not only to have made uſe of her ſecretary's company, and his muſical talents, to ſoothe her diſquieted boſom, but to have imprudently ſhared with him her domeſtic griefs. To ſuppoſe that he alſo ſhared her embraces, is to offer an injury to her character, for which hiſtory affords no proper foundation 33. But the aſſuming vanity of the upſtart, who affected to talk often and familiarly with the queen in public, and who boaſted of his intimacy in private; the dark and ſuſpicious mind of Darnley, who, inſtead of imputing Mary's coldneſs to his own conduct, which had ſo juſtly deſerved it, aſcribed the change in her behaviour (ſo different from the firſt and happy days of their union!) to the influence of a new paſſion, together with the rigid auſterity of the Scottiſh clergy, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to ſpread this opinion among

33. Buchanan, whoſe prejudices are well known, is the only Scottiſh hiſtorian who directly accuſes Mary of a criminal love for Rizio. Knox, notwithſtanding his violence and inveteracy, only ſlightly inſinuates that ſuch a ſuſpicion was entertained. But the ſilence of Randolph, the Engliſh Reſident, a man abundantly ready to mention, and to aggravate Mary's faults, and who does not once inſinuate that her confidence in Rizio contained any thing criminal, is a ſufficient vindication of her innocence againſt all ſuch aſperſions.

the

the people, ever ready to liſten to any ſlander on the court; and the enemies of the favourite, no leſs ready to take advantage of any popular clamour, made it a pretence for their unjuſt and inhuman vengeance. LETTER LXVI. A.D. 1566.

Rizio, who had connected his intereſts with the Roman Catholics, was the declared enemy of the baniſhed lords; and by promoting the violent proſecution againſt them, he had expoſed himſelf to the animoſity of their numerous friends and adherents. Among theſe were the lords Ruthven and Lindſay, the earl of Morton, and Maitland of Lethington. While they were ruminating upon their grievances, and the means of redreſs, the king communicated his reſolution to be avenged of Rizio to lord Ruthven, and implored his aſſiſtance and that of his friends toward the execution of his deſign. Nothing could be more acceptable to the whole party than ſuch an overture. The murder of the favourite was inſtantly agreed upon, and as quickly carried into execution. Morton having ſecured the gates of the palace with an hundred and ſixty armed men, the king, accompanied by the other conſpirators, entered the queen's apartment, by a private paſſage, while ſhe was at ſupper with her natural ſiſter, the counteſs of Argyle, Rizio, and a few more of her courtiers. Mary, who was now in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, alarmed at ſuch an unuſual viſit, demanded the reaſon of this rude intruſion. They anſwered her by pointing to Rizio; who immediately apprehending that he was the devoted victim, retired behind the queen's chair, and ſeized her by the waiſt, hoping that the reſpect due to her royal perſon would prove ſome protection to him. But the conſpirators had gone too far to be reſtrained by punctilios. George Douglas, one of their num-

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ber, laying hold of Darnley's dagger, ſtuck it in the body of Rizio; who, ſcreaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary, and puſhed into the antichamber, where he was diſpatched with many wounds 34.

"I WILL weep no more," ſaid the queen, drying her tears, when informed of her favourite's fate; — "I ſhall now think of revenge." The inſult on her perſon, the ſtain attempted to be fixed on her honour, and the danger to which her life was expoſed, on account of the advanced ſtate of her pregnancy, were injuries ſo atrocious and complicated, as ſcarcely, indeed, to admit of pardon, even from the greateſt lenity. Mary's reſentment, however, was implacable againſt her huſband alone. She artfully engaged him, by her perſuaſions and careſſes, to diſown all connection with the conſpirators whom he had promiſed to protect; to deny any concurrence in their crime; nay, to publiſh a proclamation containing ſo notorious a falſehood 35! And having thus made him expoſe himſelf to univerſal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him to acquire the confidence of any party, ſhe threw him off with diſdain and indignation.

MEANWHILE the anger of the queen of Scots, abſorbed by injuries more recent and violent, having ſubſided from former offenders, ſhe had been reconciled to the baniſhed lords. They were reinſtated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices in Rizio's murder, who had fled into England on being deſerted by Darnley, alſo applied to her for pardon: and although ſhe at firſt refuſed compliance, ſhe after-

34. Melvil. Keith. Crawfurd.
35. Keith, *Append.* Goodal, vol. i.

ward,

ward, through the interceſſion of Bothwell, a new favourite, who was deſirous of ſtrengthening his party by the acceſſion of their intereſt, permitted them to return into their own country 36. LETTER LXVI. A.D. 1566.

THE hour of Mary's labour now approached; and, as it ſeemed imprudent to expoſe her perſon, at ſuch a time, to the inſults which ſhe might ſuffer in a kingdom torn by factions, ſhe left the palace, and made the caſtle of Edinburgh the place of her reſidence. There ſhe was ſafely delivered of a ſon; and this being a very important event to England as well as to Scotland, ſhe inſtantly diſpatched ſir James Melvil to London with the intereſting intelligence. It ſtruck Elizabeth forcibly and by ſurprize. She had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, on the evening of Melvil's arrival, and was diſplaying all that ſpirit and gaiety which uſually attended her on ſuch occaſions; but no ſooner was ſhe informed of the prince of Scotland's birth, than all her vivacity left her. Senſible of the ſuperiority her rival had now acquired, ſhe ſunk into deep melancholy: ſhe reclined her head upon her hand, the tears trickling down her cheek, and complained to ſome of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair ſon, while ſhe herſelf was but a barren ſtock 37. Next morning, however, at the audience of the ambaſſador, ſhe reſumed her wonted cheerfulneſs and diſſimulation; thanked Melvil for his haſte in bringing her ſuch agreeable news, and expreſſed the moſt cordial friendſhip for her ſiſter Mary 38. June 19.

THE birth of a ſon, as Elizabeth foreſaw, gave additional zeal, as well as weight to the partizans of the

36. Melvil, Keith, Knox. 37. Melvil. 38. Ibid.

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queen of Scots in England; and even men of the moſt oppoſite parties began to call aloud for ſome ſettlement of the crown. The Engliſh queen had now reigned eight years, without diſcovering the leaſt intention to marry. A violent illneſs, with which ſhe was ſeized, had lately endangered her life, and alarmed the nation with a proſpect of all the calamities that are occaſioned by a diſputed and dubious ſucceſſion. In order to provide againſt thoſe evils, a motion was made, and eagerly liſtened to in both houſes of parliament, for addreſſing the queen on the ſubject. Her love for her people, her duty to the public, her concern for poſterity, it was urged, equally called upon her, either to declare her own *reſolution* to *marry*, or conſent to an act *eſtabliſhing* the order of *ſucceſſion* to the crown 39.

ELIZABETH's ambitious and maſculine character, and the poſitive affirmation, which ſhe had often and early made, as already obſerved, that ſhe meant to live and die a VIRGIN-QUEEN, rendered it improbable, notwithſtanding the inſinuations of her miniſters, that ſhe would take the firſt of theſe ſteps; and as no title to the crown could with any colour of juſtice, be ſet in oppoſition to that of the queen of Scots, moſt of the Engliſh nobility ſeemed convinced of the neceſſity of declaring her the preſumptive ſucceſſor. The union of the two kingdoms was a deſirable object to all diſcerning men; and the birth of the prince of Scotland gave hopes of its perpetuity. Even the more moderate Proteſtants, ſoothed by Mary's lenity to her own ſubjects, concurred with the Catholics in ſupporting her claim 40. Nor would all the policy and addreſs of Elizabeth have been able to prevent the ſettlement of the crown on her rival, had not Mary's in-

39. D'Ewes, *Journ. of Parliament.* 40. Melvil.

diſcretions,

diſcretions, if not her crimes, thrown her from the ſummit of proſperity, and plunged her in infamy and ruin. LETTER LXVI. A.D. 1566.

JAMES HEPBURN, earl of Bothwell, the head of an ancient family in Scotland, but a man of profligate manners, and by no means eminent for talents either civil or military, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his attachment to the queen; and ſince the death of Rizio, from the cuſtody of whoſe murderers he had been the chief inſtrument of releaſing her, Mary's gratitude, and perhaps a warmer ſentiment, had loaded him with particular marks of her favour and confidence. She had raiſed him to offices of power and of truſt, and tranſacted no matter of importance without his advice. Bothwell gained on her affection (for ſuch it certainly ſoon became) in proportion as her regard for her huſband declined; and her contempt for the latter appears to have been completed, though not occaſioned by her love for the former. The attention and complaiſance of a man, who had vindicated her authority, and protected her perſon; who entered into all her views, and watched every opportunity of recommending his paſſion, could ſcarce indeed fail of making an impreſſion on a heart naturally too ſuſceptible; or of rouſing to the greateſt height the indignation of a woman and a queen, againſt an unworthy object, on whom ſhe had placed her love, and who had requited it with neglect, with inſult, and with brutality [41].

MARY was not only ſuſpected of a criminal commerce with Bothwell, but ſo indiſcreet had her fami-

41. Anderſon, vol. i. p. 93, 94. Robertſon, book iv.

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liarity been, and ſo ſtrongly marked her hatred againſt her huſband, that when Henry, unable to bear that inſignificance into which he was fallen, left the court and retired to Glaſgow, a diſtemper of an extraordinary nature, with which he was ſeized ſoon after his arrival, was univerſally aſcribed by her enemies to a doſe of poiſon, which it was pretended ſhe had procured to be adminiſtered to him. The king himſelf, however, ſeems to have had no ſuch ſuſpicion; for, the queen having paid him a viſit during his ſickneſs, and diſcovered great anxiety for his recovery, he accompanied her to Edinburgh, as ſoon as he could be moved, in order that ſhe herſelf might be able to attend him without being abſent from her ſon[42]. He was lodged for the benefit of retirement and air, as was pretended, in a ſolitary houſe called the Kirk of Field, ſituated on a riſing ground, at ſome diſtance from the place of Holyrood Houſe. There he was aſſiduouſly attended by Mary, who ſlept ſeveral nights in the chamber under his apartment. But on the ninth of February, about eleven o'clock at night, ſhe left the Kirk of Field, in order to be preſent at a maſque in the palace; and, about two o'clock next morning, the houſe in which the king lay was blown up with gunpowder, and his dead body was found in a neighbouring incloſure[43].

THE earl of Bothwell was generally conſidered as the author of this horrid murder[44]: ſome ſuſpicions were entertained that the queen herſelf was no ſtranger to the crime; and the ſubſequent conduct of both, independent of every other circumſtance, affords a

42. Goodal, vol. ii. Dr. Robertſon ſuppoſes this confidence to have been inſpired by the inſidious blandiſhments of Mary. *Hiſt. Scot.* book iv.

43. Craufurd. Spotſwood. Keith.

44. Melvil's *Mem.* p. 155. Anderſon, vol. i.

ſtrong

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ſtrong preſumption of their mutual guilt. Mary not only induſtriouſly avoided bringing Bothwell to a *fair* and *legal* trial 45, notwithſtanding the earneſt entreaties of the earl of Lennox, the king's father, and the general voice of the nation, but allowed the man, publicly accuſed of the murder of her huſband, to enjoy all the dignity and power, as well as all the confidence and familiarity of a favourite 46! She committed to him the government of the caſtle of Edinburgh 47; which with the offices he already poſſeſſed, gave him the entire command of the South of Scotland. She was carried off by him, in returning from a viſit to her ſon, and ſeemingly with her own conſent 48; ſhe lived with him for ſome time in a ſtate of ſuppoſed violation; and as ſoon as he could procure a ſentence of divorce, ſeparating him from a young lady of virtue and merit, to whom he was lawfully married, ſhe ſhamefully gave her hand to this reputed raviſher and regicide!

May 15.

45. A kind of mock trial was held, but hurried on with indecent precipitancy, and preceded by ſo many indications of violence, that Lennox was afraid to appear in ſupport of his charge. After in vain craving delay, he therefore proteſted againſt the *legality* of any ſentence that might be given. As no accuſer appeared, the jury was under the neceſſity of acquitting Bothwell; but this judgment, pronounced without the examination of a ſingle witneſs, was conſidered as an argument of his guilt rather than a proof of his innocence. Beſides other ſuſpicious circumſtances, he was accompanied to the place of trial by a large body of armed men. Anderſon, vol. i. Keith, p. 375, 376.

46. Even while lying under the accuſation of the king's murder, Bothwell lived for ſome time in the ſame houſe with Mary, and took his ſeat in the council as uſual, inſtead of being confined to cloſe priſon. Anderſon, vol. i. ii.

47. Spotſwood, p. 201.

48. Melvil's *Mem.* p. 158. Melvil, who was himſelf one of Mary's attendants, tells us not only that he ſaw no ſigns of reluctance, but that he was informed the whole tranſaction was managed in concert with her.

THE

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THE particular ſteps, by which theſe events were brought about, are of little moment: it is of more importance to mark their conſequences. Such a quick ſucceſſion of incidents, ſo ſingular, and ſo deteſtable, filled all Europe with amazement, and threw infamy not only on the principal actors in the guilty ſcene, but alſo on the whole nation. The Scots were univerſally reproached as men void of courage, or of humanity; as equally regardleſs of the reputation of their queen, and the honour of their country, in ſuffering ſo many atrocious actions to paſs with impunity 49.

THESE reproaches, ſo juſtly merited, together with ſome attempts made by Bothwell to get the young prince into his power, rouſed the Scottiſh nobles from their lethargy. A conſiderable body of them aſſembled at Sirling, and entered into an aſſociation for the defence of the prince's perſon, and for puniſhing the king's murderers 50. The queen and Bothwell were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by the news of this league. They were no ſtrangers to the ſentiments of the nation with reſpect to their conduct: they foreſaw the ſtorm that was ready to burſt on their heads; and, in order to provide againſt it, Mary iſſued a proclamation, requiring her ſubjects to take arms and attend her huſband by a day appointed. She publiſhed, at the ſame time, a ſort of manifeſto, in which ſhe endeavoured to vindicate her government from thoſe imputations with which it had been loaded, and employed the ſtrongeſt terms to expreſs her concern for the ſafety and welfare of the prince her ſon. But neither of theſe meaſures produced any

49. Anderſon, vol. i. Melvil, p. 163. Robertſon, Append. No. XX.
50. Keith, p. 394.

conſiderable

conſiderable effect. The aſſociated lords had aſſembled an army, before the queen and Bothwell were in any condition to face them. Mary and her huſband fled to Dunbar; and as Bothwell had many dependants in that quarter, he gathered, in a ſhort time, ſuch ſtrength as emboldened him to leave the town and caſtle, and advance toward the confederates.

THE two armies met at Carberry-hill, about ſix miles from Edinburgh; and Mary was ſoon made ſenſible, that her own troops, nearly equal in number to thoſe of the confederates, diſapproved of her cauſe, and were averſe to ſpill their blood in her quarrel[51]. They diſcovered no inclination to fight. She endeavoured to animate them: ſhe wept, ſhe threatened, ſhe reproached them with cowardice; but all in vain. After ſome bravadoes of Bothwell, to vindicate his innocence, by ſingle combat, but which he declined when an adverſary offered to enter the liſts, Mary ſaw no reſource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the chief of the confederates, and of putting herſelf, on ſome general promiſes, into their hands[52].

BOTHWELL, during this parley, took his laſt farewell of the queen, and fled unattended to Dunbar; where, finding it impoſſible to collect freſh forces, he fitted out a few ſmall veſſels, ſet ſail for the Orkneys, and there ſubſiſted ſome time by piracy. But being purſued even to that extreme corner by Kirkaldy, the greater part of his little fleet was taken, together with ſeveral of his ſervants, who afterwards diſcovered all

51. Spotſwood, p. 207. Keith, p. 401, 402.
52. Calderwood, vol. ii. Melvil, p. 165.

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the circumſtances of the king's murder, and ſuffered for their ſhare in the crime 53. Bothwell himſelf made his eſcape to Norway with a ſingle ſhip. On that coaſt he attempted to renew his piracies; was there taken, thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died miſerably ten years after, in the bottom of a dungeon, unpitied by his countrymen, and neglected by ſtrangers 54.

MEANWHILE the queen of Scots, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with ſuch treatment as a ſovereign may naturally expect from ſubjects, who have their future ſecurity to provide for, as well as their preſent animoſity to gratify. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amid the inſults of the populace, who reproached her with her crimes, and held up before her eyes, which way ſoever ſhe turned, a ſtandard, on which was painted the dead body of her late huſband, and her infant ſon kneeling before it, and uttering theſe words: "Judge and revenge my cauſe, "O Lord!"—Mary ſhrunk with horror from ſuch a ſhocking object; but notwithſtanding all her argument and entreaties, the ſame ſtandard was held to view, and the ſame inſults and reproaches repeated 55. Under pretence that her behaviour was unſuitable to her condition, and fearing the return of Bothwell, to whom ſhe ſtill declared her attachment, the confederates ſent her next day to the caſtle of Lochlevin, ſeated on a ſmall iſland, in the middle of a lake of the ſame name; and ſigned a warrant to William Douglas, the owner of it, to detain her there priſoner 56.

53. Anderſon, vol. ii. 54. Melvil's *Mem.* p. 168.
55. Crawfurd's *Mem.* p. 33. Keith, p. 402. Robertſon, book iv.
56. Keith, p. 403.

No

LETTER LXVI.

No ſooner did the news of theſe events reach England, than Elizabeth, apparently laying aſide all her jealouſies and fears, ſeemed reſolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinſwoman. She inſtantly diſpatched ſir Nicholas Throgmorton into Scotland, with power to negociate both with the queen and the confederates. In his inſtructions there appears a remarkable ſolicitude for Mary's liberty, and even for her reputation 57. But neither Elizabeth's interpoſition, nor Throgmorton's zeal and abilities, were of much benefit to the Scottiſh queen. The confederates foreſaw that Mary, elated by the proſpect of protection, would reject with diſdain the overtures which they intended to make her; they therefore prerenptorily denied the ambaſſador acceſs to their priſoner, and either refuſed or eluded what propoſals he made them in her behalf 58. A.D. 1567.

THE queen of Scots, in the meantime, endured all the rigour and horrors of a priſon. No proſpect of liberty appeared: none of her ſubjects had either taken arms, or ſo much as ſolicited her relief; nor was any perſon in whom ſhe could confide admitted into her preſence. She was cut off from all the world. In this melancholy ſituation, without a counſellor, without a friend, under the preſſure of misfortune, and the apprehenſion of danger, it was natural for a woman to liſten to almoſt any overtures. The confederates took advantage of Mary's diſtreſs and of her fears. They employed lord Lindſay, the fierceſt zealot of the party, to make her acquainted with their purpoſe; and they threatened to proſecute

57. Keith, p. 418. 58. Ibid. p. 417.

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her, as the principal conſpirator againſt the life of her huſband and the ſafety of her ſon, if ſhe refuſed to comply with their demands. Mary, overpowered by her unhappy condition, and believing that no deed which ſhe ſhould execute during her captivity, could be valid, ſigned a reſignation of the crown; in conſequence of which the earl of Murray was appointed regent under the young prince, who was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI 59.

July 24.

HERE, my dear Philip, I muſt make a pauſe, for the ſake of perſpicuity. The ſubſequent part of this intereſting ſtory, the continuation of the civil wars in France, and the riſe of thoſe in the Low Countries, will furniſh materials for the next Letter.

59. Anderſon. Melvil. Keith. Crawfurd.

LETTER

LETTER LXVII.

GREAT BRITAIN *from the Flight of the Queen of* SCOTS *into* ENGLAND, *with an Account of the Civil Wars on the* CONTINENT, *till the Death of* CHARLES IX. *of* FRANCE, in 1574.

LETTER LXVII.

THE condeſcenſion of the queen of Scots in reſigning the crown to her ſon, and the adminiſtration of government to her rebellious ſubjects, did not procure her enlargement. She was ſtill confined in the caſtle of Lochlevin. A parliament, ſummoned by the earl Murray, even declared her reſignation valid, and her impriſonment lawful, while it recognized his election to the office of regent[1]; and being a man of vigour and abilities, he employed himſelf ſucceſsfully in reducing the kingdom to obedience. A.D. 1567.

BUT although moſt men ſeemed to acquieſce in Murray's authority, there ſtill abounded in Scotland many ſecret murmurs and cabals. The duke of Chatelherault, who, as firſt prince of the blood, thought he had an undoubted right to the regency, bore no goodwill to the new government: and the ſame ſentiments were embraced by his numerous friends and adherents. All who leaned to the ancient opinions in religion, were inclined to join this party; and the length and rigour of Mary's ſufferings began to move many, who had formerly deteſted her crimes, or blamed her imprudence, to commiſerate her preſent condition[2]. Animated by theſe different motives, a body of the nobility met at Hamilton, and concerted meaſures for ſupporting the cauſe of the queen. A.D. 1568.

1. Anderſon, vol. ii. 2. Buchanan, lib. xviii.

PART I. A.D. 1568.

WHILE the Scottiſh nation ſeemed thus returning to ſentiments of duty and loyalty to their ſovereign, Mary recovered her liberty, in a manner no leſs ſurpriſing to her friends than unexpected by her enemies. She engaged, by her charms and careſſes, George Douglas, her keeper's brother, to aſſiſt her in attempting her eſcape. He conveyed her in diſguiſe into a ſmall boat, and himſelf rowed her aſhore. She haſtened to Hamilton; and the news of her arrival at that place being immediately ſpread abroad, her court was filled in a few days, with a great and ſplendid train of nobility, accompanied by ſuch numbers of their retainers, as compoſed an army of ſix thouſand combatants. Her reſignation of the crown, which ſhe declared to have been extorted by fear, was pronounced illegal and void, by a council of the nobles and chief men of her party; and an aſſociation was formed, at the ſame time, for the defence of her perſon and authority, and ſubſcribed by nine earls, nine biſhops, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of diſtinction [3].

May 2.

ELIZABETH, when informed of the eſcape of the queen of Scots, diſcovered a reſolution of perſevering in the ſame generous and friendly meaſures, which ſhe had hitherto purſued, ſince the confinement of that princeſs. She is ſuppoſed to have been chiefly withheld from employing force againſt the regent, by the fear of puſhing him to ſtill greater extremities againſt his ſovereign; and ſhe now diſpatched Maitland of Lethington into Scotland, to offer her good offices, and the aſſiſtance of her arms to Mary [4]. But the Regent made ſuch haſte to aſſemble forces, that the fate of Scotland was decided before any Engliſh ſuccours could arrive. Confiding in the valour of his troops,

3. Keith, p. 475. 4. Buchanan, lib. xix. Keith, p. 477.

Murray

Murray took the field with an army far inferior to Mary's in number; and a battle was fought at Langſide, near Glaſgow, which proved deciſive in his favour, and was followed by the total diſperſion of the queen's party. LETTER LXVII. A. D. 1568.

MARY, who within the ſpace of thirteen days, had been a priſoner at the mercy of her rebellious ſubjects, had ſeen a powerful army under her command, and a numerous train of nobles at her devotion, was now obliged to flee, in the utmoſt danger of her life, and lurk with a few attendants, in a corner of her kingdom. She had beheld the engagement from a neighbouring hill; and ſo lively were her impreſſions of fear, when ſhe ſaw that army broken, on which her laſt hope reſted, that ſhe never cloſed her eyes till ſhe reached the abbey of Dundrenan, in Galloway, above ſixty miles from the field of battle [5]. Not thinking herſelf ſafe, even in that obſcure retreat, and ſtill haunted by the horrors of a priſon, ſhe embraced the raſh reſolution of retiring into England, and of throwing herſelf on the generoſity of her kinſwoman.

ELIZABETH was now under the neceſſity of coming to ſome deciſive determination, with reſpect to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and the pleaſure of mortifying, while in her power, a rival whoſe beauty and accompliſhments ſhe envied, together with the cautious and intereſted counſels of Cecil her prime miniſter, determined her to diſregard all the motives of friendſhip and generous ſympathy, and to regulate her conduct ſolely by the cruel maxims of an inſidious policy. In anſwer therefore to Mary's meſſage, notifying her arrival in England, craving leave to viſit

5. Keith, p. 481.

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the queen, and claiming her protection, in conſequence of former promiſes and profeſſions of regard, Elizabeth artfully replied, That while the queen of Scots lay under the imputation of a crime ſo horrid as the murder of her huſband, ſhe could not, without bringing a ſtain on her own reputation, admit her into her preſence; but as ſoon as ſhe had cleared herſelf from that aſperſion, ſhe might depend on a reception ſuitable to her dignity, and ſupport proportioned to her neceſſities [6].

MARY was overwhelmed with ſorrow and ſurprize at ſo unexpected a manner of evading her requeſt: nor was her boſom a ſtranger to the feelings of indignation; but the diſtreſs of her condition obliged her to declare, that ſhe would willingly juſtify herſelf to her ſiſter from all imputations, and chearfully ſubmit her cauſe to the arbitration of ſo good a friend [7]. This was the very point to which Elizabeth wiſhed to bring the matter, and the great object of her intrigues. She now conſidered herſelf as umpire between the queen of Scots and her ſubjects, and began to act in that capacity. She propoſed to appoint commiſſioners to hear the pleadings on both ſides, and wrote to the Regent of Scotland, to appoint proper perſons to appear before them in his name, and to produce what he could alledge in vindication of his proceedings againſt his ſovereign.

MARY, who had hitherto relied with ſome degree of confidence on Elizabeth's profeſſions, and who, when ſhe conſented to ſubmit her cauſe to that princeſs, expected that the queen herſelf would receive and examine her defences, now plainly perceived the

6. Anderſon, vol. iv. 7. Id. ibid.

artifice

artifice of her rival, and the ſnare that had been laid for her[8]. She therefore retracted the offer ſhe had made, and which had been perverted to a purpoſe ſo contrary to her intention; ſhe meant to conſider Elizabeth as an equal, for whoſe ſatisfaction ſhe was willing to explain any part of her conduct, that ſeemed liable to cenſure, not to acknowledge her as a ſuperior. But her own words will beſt expreſs her ſentiments on this ſubject. "In my preſent ſituation," ſays ſhe, in a letter to the Engliſh queen, "I neither will nor can "reply to the accuſations of my ſubjects. But I am "ready of my own accord, and out of friendſhip to "you, to ſatisfy your ſcruples, and to vindicate my "own conduct. My ſubjects are not my equals: "nor will I, by ſubmitting my cauſe to a judicial "trial, acknowledge them to be ſo. I fled into your "arms, as into thoſe of my neareſt relation, and moſt "perfect friend. I did you honour, as I imagined, "in chuſing you preferably to any other prince, to "be the reſtorer of an injured queen. Was it ever "known that a prince was blamed for hearing in per-"ſon the complaints of thoſe who applied to his juſ-"tice, againſt the falſe accuſations of their enemies? "You admitted into your preſence my baſtard bro-"ther, who had been guilty of rebellion; and you "deny me that honour! God forbid that I ſhould be "the cauſe of bringing any ſtain on your reputation! "I expected that your manner of treating me would "have added luſtre to it. Suffer me either to implore "the aid of other princes, whoſe delicacy on this "head will be leſs, and their reſentment of my wrongs "greater; or let me receive from your hands that "aſſiſtance, which it becomes you more than any o-

8. Anderſon, ubi ſup.

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"ther prince to grant; and by that benefit bind me "to yourſelf in the indiſſoluble ties of gratitude [9]."

This letter, which ſomewhat diſconcerted her plan, the Engliſh queen laid before her privy council; and it was there agreed, that Elizabeth could not, conſiſtently with her own honour, or with the ſafety of her government, either give the queen of Scots the aſſiſtance which ſhe demanded, or permit her to retire out of the kingdom, before the inquiry into her conduct was finiſhed. It was alſo agreed to remove Mary, for the ſake of greater ſafety, from Carliſle, where ſhe had taken refuge, to Bolton, a caſtle belonging to lord Scroop, on the borders of Yorkſhire [10].

THE reſolution of the Engliſh privy council, in regard to Mary's perſon, was immediately carried into execution; and ſhe now found herſelf entirely in her rival's power. Her correſpondence with her friends in Scotland was become more difficult; all proſpect of eſcape was cut off; and although ſhe was ſtill treated with the reſpect due to a queen, her real condition was that of a priſoner. She knew what it was to be deprived of liberty, and dreaded confinement as the worſt of evils.

ELIZABETH laid hold of this ſeaſon of terror, of impatience, and deſpair, to extort Mary's conſent to the projected trial. She was confident, ſhe ſaid, that the queen of Scots would find no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and though her apology ſhould even fall ſhort of conviction, ſhe was determined to ſupport her cauſe. It was never meant, ſhe added, that Mary ſhould be cited to a trial on the

9. Anderſon, vol. iv. 10. Ibid.

accu-

accuſation of her rebellious ſubjects; but on the contrary, that they ſhould be ſummoned to appear and to juſtify themſelves for their conduct toward her [11]. Commiſſioners were accordingly appointed by the Engliſh miniſtry for the examination of this great cauſe; and conferences were held between them and the Scottiſh commiſſioners, part in the name of the queen, and part in behalf of the king and kingdom, firſt at york, and afterward at Weſtminſter. LETTER LXVII. A.D. 1568.

DURING the conferences at York, Mary's commiſſioners ſeemed to triumph, as the Regent had hitherto declined accuſing her of any participation in the guilt of her huſband's murder, which alone could juſtify the violent proceedings of her ſubjects. But the face of the queſtion was ſoon changed, on the renewal of the conferences at Weſtminſter, immediately under the eye of the Engliſh queen. Murray, encouraged by the aſſurances of Elizabeth's protection, laid aſide his delicacy and his fears, and not only charged his ſovereign with conſenting to the murder of her huſband, but with being acceſſary to the contrivance and execution of it. The ſame accuſation was offered by the earl of Lennox; who appearing before the Engliſh commiſſioners, craved vengeance for the blood of his ſon [12].

BUT accuſations were not enough for Elizabeth: ſhe wanted to have proofs: and in order to draw them with decency from the Regent, ſhe commanded her commiſſioners to teſtify her indignation and diſpleaſure at his preſumption, in forgetting ſo far the duty of a ſubject, as to accuſe his ſovereign of ſuch atrocious crimes. Murray, thus arraigned in his turn,

11. Id. Ibid. 12. Goodall, vol. ii. Anderſon, vol. iv.

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offered to ſhew that his accuſations were neither falſe nor malicious. He produced, among other evidences, in ſupport of his charge, ſome Sonnets and Love-letters, from Mary to Bothwell, written partly before, partly after the murder of her huſband, and containing inconteſtable proofs of her conſent to that barbarous deed, of her criminal amours, and her concurrence in the pretended rape [13]. Stunned by this latent blow, againſt which it appears they were not provid-

13. Some bold attempts have lately been made to prove theſe Letters and Sonnets to be forgeries; but, unfortunately for Mary's reputation, the principal arguments, in ſupport of their authenticity, yet remain unanſwered. 1. They were examined and compared with her acknowledged hand-writing, in many letters to Elizabeth, not only by the Engliſh commiſſioners, and by the Scottiſh council and parliament, but by the Engliſh privy council, aſſiſted by ſeveral noblemen well affected to the cauſe of the queen of Scots, who all admitted them to be authentic. (Anderſon, vol. iv) This circumſtance is of great weight in the diſpute; for although it is not very difficult to counterfeit a ſubſcription, it is almoſt impoſſible to counterfeit any number of pages, ſo perfectly as to elude detection. 2. Mary and her commiſſioners, by declining to refute the charge of the Regent, though requeſted to attempt a refutation in any manner or form, and told by Elizabeth, that ſilence would be conſidered as the fulleſt confeſſion of guilt, ſeemed to admit the juſtice of the accuſation. (Id. ibid.) 3. The duke of Norfolk, who had been favoured with every opportunity of examining the Letters in queſtion, and who gave the ſtrongeſt marks of his attachment to the queen of Scots, yet believed them to be authentic. (*State Tryals*, vol. i.) 4. In the conferences between the duke, Maitland of Lethington, and biſhop Leſley, all zealous partizans of Mary, the authenticity of the Letters and her participation in the murder of her huſband, are always taken for granted. (Id. Ibid.) 5. But, independent of all other evidence, the Letters themſelves contain many internal proofs of their authenticity; many minute and unneceſſary particulars, which could have occurred to no perſon employed to forge them, and which, as the Engliſh commiſſioners ingeniouſly obſerved, "were unknown to any "other than to herſelf and Bothwell." 6. Their very indelicacy is a proof of their authenticity; for although Mary, in an amorous moment, might ſlide into a groſs expreſſion, in writing to a man to whom ſhe had ſacrificed her honour, the framer of no forgery could hope to gain it credibility, by imputing ſuch expreſſions to ſo polite and accompliſhed a princeſs as the queen of Scots.

ed

ed with any proper defence, Mary's commiſſioners endeavoured to change the enquiry into a negociation; and finding that attempt impracticable, as the Engliſh commiſſioners inſiſted on proceeding, they finally broke off the conferences, without making any reply. LETTER LXVII. A.D. 1568.

ELIZABETH having got into her poſſeſſion theſe evidences of her rival's guilt, began to treat her with leſs delicacy. Orders were given for removing Mary from Bolton, a place ſurrounded with Catholics, to Tutbury, in the county of Suffolk. And as Elizabeth entertained hopes that the queen of Scots, depreſſed by her misfortunes, and ſcarce recovered from the ſhock of the late attack on her reputation, would now be glad to ſecure a ſafe retreat at the expence of her grandeur, ſhe promiſed to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either to confirm her reſignation of the crown, or to aſſociate her ſon with her in the government, and let the adminiſtration remain with the earl of Murray during the minority of James. But that high-ſpirited princeſs refuſed all treaty on ſuch terms. "Death," ſaid ſhe, "is leſs dreadful than ſuch an ignominious ſtep. "Rather than give away with my own hands, the "crown which deſcended to me from my anceſtors, "I will part with life; but the laſt words which I "utter ſhall be thoſe of a queen of Scotland [14]!"

AFTER an end had been put to the conferences, the Regent returned into Scotland, and Mary was confined more cloſely than ever. In vain did ſhe ſtill demand, that Elizabeth ſhould either aſſiſt her in recovering her authority, or permit her to retire into

14. Haynes, p. 497. Goodall, vol. ii.

France,

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France, and make trial of the friendſhip of other princes. Aware of the danger attending both theſe propoſals, Elizabeth reſolved to comply with neither, but to detain her rival ſtill a priſoner:—and the proofs produced of Mary's guilt, ſhe hoped would apologize for this ſeverity. The queen of Scots, however, before the Regent's departure, had artfully recriminated upon him and his party, by accuſing them of having deviſed and executed the murder of the king. And although this accuſation, which was not given in till after the diſſolution of the conferences, was generally conſidered as a mere expreſſion of reſentment [15], Mary had behaved with ſo much modeſty, propriety, and even dignity, during her confinement, that her friends were enabled, on plauſible grounds, to deny the reality of the crimes imputed to her: and a ſcheme was formed in both kingdoms, for reſtoring her to liberty, and replacing her on her throne.

THE fatal marriage of the queen of Scots with Bothwell, was the grand ſource of all her misfortunes. A divorce only could repair, in any degree, the injuries her reputation had ſuffered by that ſtep; and a new choice ſeemed the moſt effectual means of recovering her authority. Her friends therefore looked out for a huſband, whoſe influence would be ſufficient to accompliſh this deſirable end. A foreign alliance was, for many reaſons, to be avoided; and as the duke of Norfolk was, without compariſon, the

15. Hume, vol. v. If Mary's commiſſioners could have produced any proofs of the earl of Murray's guilt, they would ſurely, as able advocates and zealous partizans, have prevented the accuſation of her enemies; or they would have confronted accuſation with accuſation, inſtead of breaking off the conferences at the very moment the charge was brought againſt their miſtreſs, and when all their eloquence was become neceſſary for the vindication of her honour.

LETTER LXVII.

first subject in England, and enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular with the most opposite factions, his marriage with the queen of Scots appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his own friends, as well as to those of Mary. Maitland of Lethington opened the scheme to him. He set before that nobleman the glory of composing the dissensions in Scotland; and, at the same time, held to his view the prospect of reaping the succession of England. The duke readily closed with a proposal so flattering to his ambition; nor was Mary herself averse against a measure which promised so desirable a change in her condition [16].

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But this scheme, like all those formed for the relief of the queen of Scots, had an unfortunate issue. Though the duke of Norfolk, who possessed in an eminent degree the good graces of his sovereign, as well as the favour of the whole nation, had declared that Elizabeth's consent should be obtained before the conclusion of his marriage, he attempted previously to gain the approbation of the most considerable English nobility, as he had reason to apprehend a violent opposition from her perpetual and unrelenting jealousy of her rival; and as the nation now began to despair of the queen's marrying, and Mary's right to the succession was generally held to be undoubted, her alliance with an Englishman, and a zealous Protestant, seemed so effectually to provide against all those evils, which might be apprehended from her choice of a foreign and a popish prince, that the greater part of the peers, either directly or tacitly, approved of it as a salutary project. Even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's avowed favourite, seemed to enter

A. D. 1569.

16. Camden. Haynes.

zealously

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zealouſly into Norfolk's intereſts, and wrote, with his own hand, a letter to Mary, ſubſcribed by ſeveveral other noblemen, warmly recommending the match [17].

So extenſive a confederacy could not eſcape the vigilance of Elizabeth, or of Cecil, her prime miniſter; a man of the deepeſt penetration, and ſincerely attached to her perſon and government. Norfolk, however, flattered himſelf, that the union of ſo many noblemen would make it neceſſary for the queen to comply; and in a matter of ſo much conſequence to the nation, the taking a few ſteps without her knowledge could ſcarce, he thought, be reckoned criminal. But Elizabeth thought otherwiſe. Any meaſure to her appeared criminal, that tended ſo viſibly to ſave the reputation and increaſe the power of her rival. She alſo ſaw, that, how perfect ſoever Norfolk's allegiance might be, and that of the greater part of the noblemen who eſpouſed his cauſe, they who conducted the intrigue, had farther and more dangerous views, than the relief of the queen of Scots: and ſhe dropt ſeveral hints to the duke, that ſhe was acquainted with his deſigns, warning him frequently to "be-"ware on what pillow he repoſed his head [18]!" Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was at length given her by Leiceſter, who had perhaps countenanced the project with no other intention than to defeat it. The Scottiſh Regent, threatened with Elizabeth's diſpleaſure, alſo meanly betrayed the duke; put his letters into her hands, and furniſhed all the information in his power. Norfolk was committed to the Tower; ſeveral other noblemen were

17. Leſley. Haynes. 18. Camden. Spotſwood.

taken

taken into cuſtody; and the queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, where her impriſonment was rendered more intolerable, by an exceſs of vigilance and rigour [19]. LETTER LXVII. A. D. 1569.

THIS intrigue was no ſooner diſcovered than an attempt was made for reſtoring the Scottiſh queen to liberty by force of arms. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, two of the moſt ancient and powerful of the Engliſh peers, were both attached to the Romiſh religion, and diſcontented with the court, where new men and new meaſures prevailed. Ever ſince Mary's arrival in England, they had warmly eſpouſed her intereſt, and had even engaged in ſeveral plots for her relief. They were privy to Norfolk's ſcheme; but the moderation and coolneſs of that nobleman did not ſuit their ardour and impetuoſity. The liberty of the Scottiſh queen was not their ſole object: they aimed at bringing about a change in the religion, and a revolution in the government of the kingdom. For theſe purpoſes they had ſolicited the aid of the king of Spain, the avowed patron of popery, and the natural enemy of Elizabeth. Glad of an opportunity of diſturbing the tranquillity of England, Philip ordered the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries, to encourage the two earls in their projected rebellion, by a promiſe of money and troops [20]. But Elizabeth fortunately got intelligence of their deſign, before they were ready to take the field; and though they immediately aſſembled their retainers, and flew to arms, the queen acted with ſo much prudence and vigour, that they were obliged to diſperſe themſelves without ſtriking a blow [21]. The

19. Haynes. 20. Carte, vol. iii. 21. Camden.

common

PART I. A.D. 1569. common people retired to their houſes, the leaders fled into Scotland.

ELIZABETH was ſo well pleaſed with the duke of Norfolk's behaviour, during this inſurrection, that ſhe releaſed him from the Tower, and allowed him to live in his own houſe, though under ſome ſhew of confinement. But the queen of Scots, with whom he promiſed to hold no farther correſpondence, was only more ſtrictly guarded; and Elizabeth, ſenſible of the danger of detaining her any longer in England, reſolved to give up Mary into the hands of the Regent, whoſe ſecurity, no leſs than the Engliſh queen's, depended on preventing her from aſcending the throne. The negociation for this purpoſe had been carried ſome length, when it was diſcovered by the vigilance of Leſley, biſhop of Roſs; who, together with the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, remonſtrated againſt A.D. 1570. the infamy of ſuch a tranſaction. A delay was by that means procured; and the violent death of the Regent, who was ſhot, in revenge of a domeſtic injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, prevented the revival of the project[22].

ON the death of the earl of Murray, who was a man of vigour and abilities, but of an auſtere and un-

22. Carte, vol. iii. Anderſon, vol. iii. Part of Hamilton's eſtate had been beſtowed upon one of the Regent's favourites, who ſeized his houſe, and turned out his wife naked, in a cold night, into the fields; where, before morning, ſhe became furiouſly mad. From that moment he vowed revenge againſt the earl of Murray. Party-rage ſtrengthened and inflamed his private reſentment; and the maxims of that age juſtified the moſt deſperate courſe he could take to obtain vengeance. He followed the Regent for ſome time, watching an opportunity to ſtrike the blow; and at laſt ſhot him from a window as he was paſſing through Linlithgow, in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. Crawfurd's Mem. Buchanan. Robertſon.

amiable character, Scotland relapſed into a ſtate of anarchy. The queen's party ſeemed for a time to prevail: but, at length, through the interpoſition of Elizabeth, who accompanied her recommendation with an armed force, the earl of Lennox, the king's grandfather, was elected regent; and Mary, after being amuſed, during ten months, by a deceitful negociation, and the hopes of liberty, found herſelf under ſtricter cuſtody than ever, and without any hopes of eſcaping from it [23]. In that joyleſs ſituation we muſt leave her for a while, and take a view of the civil wars on the continent, the iſſue of which nearly concerned both the Britiſh queens.

A. D. 1570.

ELIZABETH was ſenſible, that, as the head of the Proteſtant party, her ſafety in a great meaſure depended on the continuance of the commotions in France and the Low Countries. She therefore contributed, as we have ſeen, both ſecretly and openly, to enable and encourage the reformers to ſupport the ſtruggle, while ſhe watched the motions of the Catholics with a jealous eye. And an event happened about this time, which increaſed her vigilance. Pope Pius V. after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate, by gentle means, the friendſhip of Elizabeth, iſſued a bull of excommunication againſt her; depriving her of all title to the crown, and abſolving her ſubjects from their oath of allegiance. This bull, which had no doubt been fulminated at the inſtigation of the Catholic princes, was affixed to the gates of the biſhop of London's palace, by one John Felton, a zealous Papiſt; who, ſcorning either to flee or deny the fact, was ſeized, condemned, and executed. He not only

A. D. 1571.

23. Spotſwood. Leſley.

ſuffered

PART I. A.D. 1571.

ſuffered with conſtancy, but ſeemed to conſider death, in ſuch a cauſe, as a triumph [24].

THUS rouſed by the violent ſpirit of popery, Elizabeth, who had never been remiſs, fixed her eye more ſteadily on the religious wars in France and the Low Countries. The league concerted at Bayonne, as has been already noticed, for the extermination of the Proteſtants, had not been concluded ſo ſecretly, but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligny, and other leaders of that party in France. Finding the meaſures of the court correſpond with their ſuſpicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to ſtrike a blow before the Catholics were aware of the danger. In conſequence of this reſolution, they formed, in 1567, the bold deſign of ſurpriſing the king and queen-mother, who were living in ſecurity, at Monceaux in Brie; and had not the court received ſome accidental information of the conſpiracy, which induced them to remove to Meaux, and been beſides protected by a body of Swiſs, who came haſtily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they muſt have fallen, without reſiſtance, into the hands of the Hugonots [25].

A BATTLE was ſoon after fought in the plains of St. Denis; where, though the old conſtable Montmorency, the general of the Catholics, was ſlain, the Hugonots were defeated, by reaſon of their inferiority in numbers. Condé however, ſtill undiſmayed, collected his broken troops; and having received a ſtrong reinforcement of German Proteſtants, appear-

24. Camden, p. 428.
25. Davila, lib. iv. Mezeray, tom. v.

ed

ed again in the field at the head of a formidable force. With that new army he traverſed great part of the kingdom; and at laſt laying ſiege to Chartres, a place of much importance, obliged the court, in 1568, to agree to an accommodation [26].

LETTER LXVII. A. D. 1571.

THIS peace, being but a temporary expedient, and ſincere on neither ſide, was of ſhort duration. The queen-mother, deceitful in all her negociations, had laid a plot for ſeizing Condé and Coligny. They received intelligence of their danger, fled to Rochelle, and ſummoned their partizans to their aſſiſtance. Thither the Hugonots reſorted in great numbers, and the civil war was renewed with more fury than ever. The duke of Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the Catholics; and gained, in 1569, under the direction of the marechal de Tavanes, the famous battle of Jarnac, after a ſtruggle of ſeven hours. The prince of Condé being wounded and made priſoner, was carried off the field, and killed in cold blood by a captain of the duke of Anjou's guards [27].

BUT this defeat, though accompanied with the loſs of ſo great a leader, did not break the ſpirit of the Hugonots. Coligny, whoſe courage was ſuperior to all difficulties, ſtill gallantly ſupported their cauſe; and having placed at the head of the party the king of Navarre, only ſixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé, to both of whom he acted as a father, he encouraged the Proteſtants rather to periſh bravely in the field than by the hands of the executioner. Their ardour was not inferior to his own; and being ſtrengthened by a new reinforcement of

26. Id. Ibid. 27. Mezeray, ubi. ſup. Henault, tom. i.

PART I. A. D. 1571.

Germans, they obliged the duke of Anjou to retreat, and inveſted Poitiers [28].

As the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterprize, the young duke of Guiſe, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himſelf into Poitiers, and ſo animated the garriſon by his valour and conduct, that Coligny was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, in ſpite of his moſt vigorous efforts, after loſing three thouſand men [29]. Such was the riſe of the reputation of the ſecond duke of Guiſe, whom we ſhall afterwards ſee attain ſo diſtinguiſhed a height of fame and grandeur, and whoſe ambition engaged him in ſchemes ſo deſtructive to the authority of his ſovereign, and the repoſe of his native country.

ELIZABETH, ever watchful of the civil commotions in France, was by no means pleaſed with this revival of the power of the houſe of Lorrain; and being anxious for the fate of the Proteſtants, whoſe intereſts were ſo intimately connected with her own, ſhe ſent them ſecretly a ſum of money, beſides artillery and military ſtores [30]. She alſo permitted Henry Champernon to levy and tranſport over to France, a regiment of gentleman volunteers. Meanwhile Coligny, conſtrained by the impatience of his troops, and the difficulty of ſubſiſting them, fought with the duke of Anjou and the marechal de Tavanes, the memorable battle of Moncontour, in which he was wounded and defeated, with the loſs of near ten thouſand men [31].

THE court of France, and the Catholics, elated with this victory, vainly flattered themſelves that the

28. Davila, lib. v. 29. Id. Ibid. 30. Camden, p. 423.
31. Davila, lib. v. Mezeray, tom. v.

power of the Hugonots was finally broken; and therefore neglected to take any farther ſteps for cruſhing an enemy no longer thought capable of reſiſtance. What was then their ſurprize to hear, that Coligny, ſtill undiſmayed, had ſuddenly appeared in another quarter of the kingdom; had inſpired with all his valour and conſtancy the two young princes, whom he governed; had aſſembled a formidable army, accompliſhed an incredible march, and was ready to beſiege Paris!—The public finances, diminiſhed by the continued diſorders, and waſted by ſo many fruitleſs wars, could not bear the charge of a new armament. The king was therefore obliged, in 1570, notwithſtanding his violent animoſity againſt the Hugonots, to enter into a negociation with them at St. Germain en Laye; to grant them a pardon for all paſt offences; to declare them capable of all offices, both civil and military; to renew the edicts for liberty of conſcience; and cede to them for two years, as places of refuge, and pledges of their ſecurity, Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban, and Coignac[32]. The firſt of theſe cities kept the ſea open for receiving ſuccours from England, in caſe of a new war; the ſecond preſerved the paſſage of the Loire; the third commanded the frontiers of Languedoc and Querci; and the fourth opened a paſſage into Angoumois, where the Hugonots had greater ſtrength than in any other province.

LETTER LXVII. A.D. 1571.

THUS an end was ſeemingly put to the civil wars of France. But Charles was in no degree reconciled to his rebellious ſubjects: and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was employed as a ſnare, by which the perfidious court might carry more ſecurely

32. Id. Ibid.

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into execution that project, which had been formed for the deſtruction of the Proteſtants. Their leaders were accordingly invited to Paris, and loaded with favours; and, in order to lull the party into yet greater ſecurity, Charles not only declared, That, convinced of the impoſſibility of forcing men's conſciences, he was determined to allow every one the free exerciſe of his religion, but affected to enter into cloſe connexions with Elizabeth 33. Propoſals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; a prince whoſe youth, beauty, and valour, qualities to which the queen never appeared inſenſible, it was hoped would ſerve for ſome time to amuſe the court of England.

ELIZABETH, whoſe artful politics never triumphed ſo much as in thoſe intrigues which were connected with her coquetry, immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France. Negociations, equally inſincere on both ſides, were accordingly entered into with regard to the marriage, and broke off under various pretences. Both courts, however, ſucceeded in their ſchemes. Charles's artifices, or rather thoſe of the queen-mother, impoſed on Elizabeth, and blinded the Hugonots; and the proſpect of that princeſs's marriage, as ſhe expected, and of an alliance between France and England, diſcouraged the partizans of the queen of Scots, ſo ready at all times to diſturb the repoſe of the latter kingdom 34.

ELIZABETH had alſo other motives for her diſſimulation. The violent authority eſtabliſhed by Philip in the Low Countries, made her deſirous of fortifying

33. Camden. Davila. Digges. 34. Ibid.

herſelf

herſelf even with the ſhadow of a new confederacy: Not ſatisfied with having reduced to their former ſtate of obedience the revolted Flemings, whom his barbarous perſecutions had rouſed to arms, that bigotted and tyrannical prince ſeemed determined to make the late popular diſorders a pretence for utterly aboliſhing their privileges, and ruling them thenceforth with an arbitrary ſway. LETTER LXVII. A. D. 1571.

THE duke of Alva, a fit inſtrument in the hands of ſuch a deſpot, being employed by Philip to carry this violent deſign into execution, had conducted into the Low Countries, in 1568, a powerful body of Spaniſh and Italian veterans. The appearance of ſuch an army, with the inexorable and vindictive character of its leader, ſtruck the Flemings with terror and conſternation. Their apprehenſions were but too juſt. The privileges of the provinces were openly and expreſsly aboliſhed by an edict; arbitrary and ſanguinary tribunals were erected; the counts Egmont and Horne, notwithſtanding their great merit and former ſervices, and although they had been chiefly inſtrumental in quelling the late revolt, were brought to the block; multitudes were daily delivered over to the executioner; and nothing was to be heard or ſeen but ſeizure, confiſcation, impriſonment, torture, and death 35.

MEANWHILE William of Naſſau, prince of Orange, ſurnamed the Silent, whoſe eſtate had been confiſcated, was employed in raiſing an army of German Proteſtants, in order to attempt the relief of his native country; and, having completed his levies, he entered the Netherlands at the head of twenty-eight

35. Temple. Grotius.

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thouſand men, and offered battle to the duke of Alva. But that prudent general, ſenſible of the importance of delay, declined the challenge; and the Spaniards being in poſſeſſion of all the fortified towns, the prince was obliged, from want of money, to diſband his army, without being able to effect any thing of importance [36].

ALVA's good fortune only increaſed his inſolence and cruelty. After entering Bruſſels in triumph, he ordered diligent ſearch to be made after all who had been aiding to the prince of Orange, and put them to death by various tortures. He next commanded citadels to be built in all the principal towns, in order to over-awe the inhabitants; and in that of Antwerp he cauſed his own ſtatue to be erected, in the attitude of treading on the necks of two ſmaller ſtatues, repreſenting the two eſtates of the Low Countries, accompanied with the emblems of hereſy and rebellion! Not ſatisfied with enſlaving and inſulting a free people, he proceeded to pillage and oppreſs them with exactions altogether ruinous. He demanded the hundredth penny, as a tax on all goods, whether moveable or immoveable, to ſupply his preſent exigencies; and for the future, the twentieth penny annually on all immoveable goods or heritage; and the tenth penny on all moveable goods, to be levied at every ſale [37]. The inhabitants refuſed to ſubmit to ſuch oppreſſive taxes. Alva had recourſe to his uſual ſeverities; and the Flemings ſeemed in danger of being reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of wretchedneſs, while the courts of France and England were amuſing each other with a marriage treaty.

36. Le Clerc, lib. i. Grotius, lib. ii. 37. Id. ibid.

ELIZABETH,

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A. D. 1571.

ELIZABETH, however, was never inattentive to the affairs of the Low Countries. She was equally diſpleaſed to ſee the progreſs of the ſcheme laid for the extermination of the Proteſtants, and to obſerve the erection of ſo great a military power in her immediate neighbourhood; and hence, as already obſerved, ſhe endeavoured to guard herſelf againſt the ambition of Philip by the appearance of an alliance with France. But her danger from the Low Countries was greater than ſhe was yet aware of.

THE queen of Scots, thinking herſelf abandoned by the court of France, had applied for protection to that of Spain; and Philip, whoſe dark and thoughtful mind delighted in the myſtery of intrigue, had held for ſome time a ſecret correſpondence with Mary, by means of Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, her ambaſſador at the court of England, and had ſupplied both herſelf and her adherents in Scotland with money. At length a ſcheme for reſcuing Mary, and ſubverting the Engliſh government, was concerted by the biſhop of Roſs, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had reſided long in London, and acted privately as an agent for the pope. Their plan was, that the duke of Alva ſhould land ten thouſand men in the neighbourhood of London; that the duke of Norfolk, whom they had drawn into their meaſures, and who had renewed his engagements with the queen of Scots, notwithſtanding his ſolemn promiſe to hold no correſpondence with her, ſhould join the Spaniards with all his friends, together with the Engliſh Catholics and malecontents; that they ſhould march in a body to the capital, and oblige Elizabeth to ſubmit to what conditions they ſhould think fit to impoſe [38].

38. State Trials, vol. i. Leſley, p. 155.

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BUT the queen and nation were delivered from this danger by the ſuſpicious temper of one of Norfolk's ſervants. Being intruſted with a bag of money under the denomination of ſilver, he concluded it to be gold from its weight, and carried it to ſecretary Cecil, now lord Burleigh, whoſe penetrating genius ſoon diſcovered, and whoſe activity brought the whole conſpiracy to light. The duke of Norfolk, betrayed by his other ſervants, who had been privy to the plot, A.D. 1572. was ſeized, convicted of high treaſon, condemned, and executed. The biſhop of Roſs was committed to the Tower; the Spaniſh ambaſſador was commanded to leave England; and the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to Elizabeth about this time by the Regent of Scotland, was brought to the block for his ſhare in the former rebellion [39]. Rodolphi, then on his journey to Bruſſels, eſcaped the arm of vengeance.

THE queen of Scots, who had been either the immediate or remote cauſe of all theſe diſturbances, was kept under a ſtricter guard than formerly; the number of her domeſtics was abridged, and no perſon was permitted to ſee her but in the preſence of her keepers. The Engliſh parliament was even ſo enraged againſt her, that the commons made a direct application for her inſtant trial and execution [40]. But although Elizabeth durſt not yet carry matters to ſuch extremity againſt Mary, or was not ſo diſpoſed, the reſtleſs ſpirit of the captive princeſs, and her cloſe connections with Spain, made the queen of England reſolve to act without diſguiſe or ambiguity in the affairs of Scotland.

39. Id. Ibid. Strype, vol. ii. Camden, p. 34—40. 40. D'Ewes, *Journ. of Parl.*

THAT

LETTER LXVII.

THAT kingdom was ſtill in a ſtate of anarchy. The caſtle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of her party, encouraged by this circumſtance, had taken poſſeſſion of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war againſt the Regent. By a ſudden and unexpected enterprize, they ſeized that nobleman at Stirling, and ſlew him in revenge of former injuries. They were, however, overpowered by a detachment from the caſtle, and an inſurrection of the townſmen, and obliged to retire with precipitation. A.D. 1572.

THE earl of Marre was choſen regent of Scotland in the room of Lennox, and found the ſame difficulties to encounter in the government of that divided kingdom. He was therefore glad to accept the mediation of the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors, and to conclude, on equal terms, a truce with the queen's party. He was a man of a free and generous ſpirit; and finding it impoſſible to accommodate matters between the parties, or maintain his own authority, without ſubmitting to a dependence on England, he died of melancholy, occaſioned by the diſtracted ſtate of his country.

MARRE was ſucceeded in the regency of Scotland by the earl of Morton, who had ſecretly taken all his meaſures in concert with Elizabeth; and as ſhe was now determined to exert herſelf effectually in ſupport of the king's party, ſhe ordered Sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march with a body of troops and a train of artillery to Edinburgh, and to beſiege the caſtle. Kirkaldy, after a gallant defence of thirty-three days, againſt all the efforts of the commanders of the two nations, who puſhed on their attacks with courage,

PART I. A. D. 1572.

courage, and with emulation, was obliged to ſurrender, by reaſon of a mutiny in the garriſon. He was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by Elizabeth's order, expreſsly contrary to his capitulation with Drury, and condemned by Morton to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh. Maitland of Lethington, who had taken part with Kirkaldy, and could not expect to be treated more favourably, prevented the ignominy of a public execution by a voluntary death. "He ended his days," ſays Melvil, "after the old Roman faſhion!" and Scotland ſubmitting entirely to the Regent's authority, gave no farther inquietude, for many years, to the Engliſh queen [41].

THE events on the continent were not ſo favourable to the intereſts, or agreeable to the inclinations of Elizabeth. After the negociation for a marriage between the Engliſh queen and the duke of Anjou was finally broken off, a defenſive alliance had been concluded between France and England. Charles IX. conſidered this treaty, not only as the beſt artifice for blinding the Proteſtants, the conſpiracy againſt whom was now almoſt ripe for execution, but alſo as a good precaution againſt the dangerous conſequences to which that atrocious meaſure might expoſe him. Elizabeth, who, notwithſtanding her penetration and experience, was the dupe of the French king's hypocriſy, regarded it as an invincible barrier againſt the enemies of her throne, and as one of the chief pillars of the ſecurity of the Proteſtant cauſe. Even the leaders of the Hugonots, though ſo often deceived, gave credit to the treacherous promiſes and profeſſions of the court; and Charles, in order to complete that fatal confidence, into which he had

April 11.

41. Melvil. Crawford. Camden. Strype.

lulled

lulled them, by his inſidious careſſes, offered his ſiſter Margaret in marriage to the young king of Navarre [42]. LETTER LXVII. A. D. 1572.

THE admiral de Coligny, the prince of Condé, and all the moſt conſiderable men of the Proteſtant party, went chearfully to Paris, in order to aſſiſt at the celebration of that marriage; which, it was hoped, would finally appeaſe the religious animoſities. Coligny was wounded by a ſhot from a window, a few days after the marriage; yet the court ſtill found means to quiet the ſuſpicions of the Hugonots, till the eve of St. Bartholomew, when a maſſacre commenced, Auguſt 24. to which there is nothing parallel in the hiſtory of mankind, either for the diſſimulation that led to it, or the deliberate cruelty and barbarity with which it was perpetrated. The Proteſtants, as a body, were devoted to deſtruction; the young king of Navarre and the prince of Condé only being exempted from the general doom, on condition that they ſhould change their religion. Charles, accompanied by his mother, beheld from a window of his palace this horrid maſſacre, which was chiefly conducted by the duke of Guiſe. The royal guards were ordered to be under arms at the cloſe of day: the ringing of a bell was the ſignal; and the Catholic citizens, who had been ſecretly prepared by their leaders for ſuch a ſcene, zealouſly ſeconded the execution of the ſoldiery, imbruing their hands, without remorſe, in the blood of their neighbours, of their companions, and even of their relations; the king himſelf inciting their fury, by firing upon the fugitives, and frequently crying "Kill, kill!"—Perſons of every condition, age, and ſex, ſuſpected of adhering to the reformed opinions, were involved in one undiſtinguiſhed ruin. About five hundred gentlemen, and men of rank, among whom was Coligny, with many other heads of

42. Davila. Digges. Mezeray.

the

PART I. A. D. 1572.

the proteſtant party, were murdered in Paris alone; and near ten thouſand perſons of inferior condition. The ſame barbarous orders were ſent to all the provinces of the kingdom; and a like carnage enſued at Rouen, Lyons, Orleans, and ſeveral other cities [43]. Sixty thouſand Proteſtants are ſuppoſed to have been maſſacred in different parts of France.

As an apology for this atrocious perfidy, and inhuman butchery, Charles pretended that a conſpiracy of the Hugonots to ſeize his perſon, had been ſuddenly detected; and that he had been neceſſitated for his own ſafety, to proceed to extremities againſt them. The parliament accordingly ordered an annual proceſſion, on St. Bartholomew's day, in commemoration of the deliverance of the kingdom; and a medal was ſtruck, in honour of the ſame event, with this inſcription (which ſeems to bear a farther meaning) on one ſide, accompanied with the royal arms: PIETAS *excitavit* JUSTITIAM; "PIETY *rouſed* JUSTICE." On the other ſide Charles is ſeated on a throne, with the ſword of Juſtice in his right hand, and the balance in his left, with a group of heads under his feet, ſurrounded by theſe words: *Virtus in Rebelles*; "Courage in puniſhing Rebels [44]."

AT Rome, and in Spain, the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, which no popiſh writer of the preſent age mentions without deteſtation, was the ſubject of public rejoicings; and ſolemn thanks were returned to God for its ſucceſs under the name of the *Triumph of the Church Militant!* Among the Proteſtants it excited incredible horror; a ſtriking picture of which is drawn by Fenelon, the French ambaſſador at the court of

43. Davila, lib. v. P. Daniel, tom iv. Mezeray, tom. v.

44. Matthieu. Dupleix. Le Gendre. Mezeray.

England,

England, in his account of his firſt audience after that barbarous tranſaction. "A gloomy ſorrow," ſays he, "ſat on every face: ſilence, as in the dead of night, "reigned through all the chambers of the royal apart-"ment: the ladies and courtiers, clad in deep mourn-"ing, were ranged on each ſide; and as I paſſed "by them, in my approach to the queen, not one "beſtowed on me a favourable look, or made the leaſt "return to my ſalutations[45]."

LETTER LXVII. A.D. 1572.

THE Engliſh nobility and gentry were rouſed to ſuch a pitch of reſentment, by the cruelty and perfidy of the French court, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe; to tranſport them into France, and to maintain them for ſix months at their own expence. But Elizabeth, cautious in all her meaſures, moderated the zeal of her ſubjects. She was aware of the dangerous ſituation in which ſhe now ſtood, as the head and protectreſs of the Proteſtant body, and afraid to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions, by a hazardous cruſade; ſhe therefore judged it prudent, not only to refuſe her conſent to the projected invaſion, but to liſten to the profeſſions of friendſhip ſtill made her by the French monarch. Meantime ſhe prepared herſelf againſt that attack, which ſeemed to threaten her from the combined force and violence of Charles and Philip; two princes as nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity as in bigotry, and whoſe machinations ſhe had reaſon to dread, as ſoon as they had quelled their domeſtic diſturbances. She fortified Portſmouth; put her fleet in order; exerciſed her militia; and renewed her alliance with the German princes, no leſs alarmed than herſelf at the treacherous

45. Carte, from *Fenelon's Diſpatches*.

and

PART I. and ſanguinary meaſures ſo univerſally embraced by the Catholic powers[46].

A. D. 1572.

BUT Elizabeth's greateſt ſecurity againſt the attempts of thoſe princes, was the obſtinate reſiſtance made by the Proteſtants in France and the Low Countries. The maſſacre, inſtead of annihilating the Hugonots, only rendered them more formidable. Animated by the moſt ardent ſpirit of civil and religious liberty, inflamed by vengeance and deſpair, they aſſembled in large bodies, or crowded into the cities and fortreſſes in the poſſeſſion of their party; and finding that they could repoſe no faith in capitulations, nor expect any clemency from the court, they determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. After one of the moſt gallant defences recorded in hiſtory, the town of Sancerre was obliged to ſurrender, but the inhabitants obtained liberty of con-

A. D. 1573. ſcience. Rochelle, before which in a manner was aſſembled the whole force of France, ſuſtained a ſiege of eight months. During that ſiege the citizens repelled nine general and twenty particular aſſaults, and obliged the duke of Anjou, who conducted the attack, and loſt twenty-four thouſand men, in the courſe of his operations, to grant them an advantageous peace[47]. Thus ended the fourth civil war, by a treaty which the court did not intend to obſerve, and to which the Proteſtants never truſted.

THE miſeries of France increaſed every day. Charles grew jealous of his brothers, and many of the moſt conſiderable men among the Catholics, diſpleaſed with the meaſures of the court, favoured the progreſs of the Hugonots. All things tended to confuſion.

46, Camden. Digges. 47. Davila, lib. v. Mezeray, tom. v.

In

LETTER LXVII.

A. D. 1574.

In the midſt of theſe diſorders died Charles IX. of a diſtemper ſo extraordinary, that it was univerſally conſidered by the Proteſtants, as a viſible ſtroke of divine vengeance. The blood exuded from every pore of his body. Though the author of ſo many atrocious crimes, he was only twenty-four years of age; and that unuſual mixture of ferocity and diſſimulation, which diſtinguiſhed his character, threatened ſtill greater miſchiefs both to his native country and to Europe[48]. As he left no male iſſue, he was ſucceeded in the throne of France by his brother, the duke of Anjou, lately elected king of Poland.

48. The character of Charles IX. as might be expected, has been very differently drawn by the cotemporary hiſtorians of the two religions. And an attempt has lately been made by an ingenious writer, who affects liberality of ſentiment, to vindicate that prince from what he conſiders to be the calumnies of the Proteſtant writers. In the proſecution of this deſign, the gentleman, who has undertaken to *whitewaſh* the author of the maſſacre of Paris, endeavours to ſhew, by a diſplay of the elegant qualities of Charles, his taſte for the polite arts, and his talent of making verſes, that his mind was naturally ſound and generous, but corrupted by a pernicious ſyſtem of policy, and enſlaved by the machinations of his mother, Catherine of Medicis. As much might be ſaid in favour of Nero, and with more juſtice.

But this writer, in attempting to confound our ideas of virtue and vice, has happily furniſhed us with an antidote to his own poiſon. He owns, that ſome weeks after the maſſacre had ceaſed, Charles was not only preſent at the execution of two Hugonot gentlemen, who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, "but ſo deſirous of *enjoying* the *ſight* of their "*laſt agonies*, that, as it was *night* before they were *conducted* to the *gibbet*, "he commanded *torches* to be *held up* to the *faces* of the *criminals*." (*Hiſt. of the Race of Valois*, vol. ii.) And the authors, who atteſt this fact, have left us ſo many others of a ſimilar kind, as are ſufficient to induce us to ſuppoſe, that the bigotry and cruelty of Charles IX. were equal to the execution of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, without the inſtigation of his mother. One anecdote deſerves particular notice. When the prince of Condé heſitated in renouncing his religion, the king exclaimed, in a furious tone, accompanied with a menacing look, "DEATH, MASS, or the "BASTILE!" Davila, lib. v. Mezeray, tom. v.

BUT

PART I. BUT before we carry farther the account of the civil wars of France, or reſume the hiſtory of thoſe in the Low Countries, I muſt turn your eye, my dear Philip, back to the affairs of the empire, Spain, Italy, and Turkey.

LETTER LXVIII.

GERMANY, *from the Reſignation of* CHARLES V. *in* 1556, *to the Death of* MAXIMILIAN II. *in* 1576, *with ſome Account of the Affairs of* SPAIN, ITALY, *and* TURKEY, *during that Period.*

LETTER LXVIII.

CHARLES V. as we have already ſeen, was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by his brother Ferdinand I. the beginning of whoſe reign was diſ-
A.D. 1557. tinguiſhed by the diet at Ratiſbon, which confirmed the peace of religion, by reconciling the houſe of Heſſe to that of Naſſau [1].

PIUS IV. who was raiſed to the papacy in 1559, leſs obſtinate than his predeceſſor, Paul, confirmed the imperial dignity to Ferdinand. He alſo iſſued a bull for re-aſſembling the council of Trent, the moſt memorable occurrence under the reign of this emperor.

ON the publication of that bull, the Proteſtant
A.D. 1561. princes aſſembled at Naumburg in Saxony, and came to a reſolution of adhering to the confeſſion of Augſburg, whatever ſhould be determined in the council of Trent. Meanwhile Ferdinand iſſued orders for-

1. Heiſs, liv. iii.

con-

convoking a diet at Frankfort, where he managed matters with so much address, that his son Maximilian, already promoted to the throne of Bohemia, was elected king of the Romans, with the unanimous consent of the Germanic body. The emperor also endeavoured on this occasion, but in vain, to persuade the Protestants to submit to the general council. They continued unshaken in their resolution of rejecting its decrees. The pope, they maintained, had no right to convoke such an assembly; that prerogative belonging to the emperor alone, to whom, as their sovereign, they were at all times willing to explain themselves on any subject, either civil or religious [2]. LETTER LXVIII. A. D. 1562.

FINDING the Protestants obstinate in denying the authority of the council of Trent, Ferdinand resolved to pursue another method of uniting them to the church. For that purpose, he presented a remonstrance to the fathers of the council, exhorting them to attempt a reformation of manners among the Romish clergy, in order to remove those abuses of which the Protestants so justly complained. But the pope, affirming that such reformation was his peculiar province, would not allow the council to take cognizance of the subject. The emperor was also disappointed in a demand which he made, that the council should permit the communion both with and without the cup, among the laity, and the marriage of priests in the imperial dominions. His Holiness would consent to neither of these requests [3].

THIS famous council, which had been so often suspended and renewed, and which proved the last assembly of the kind, was finally dissolved in December A. D. 1563.

2. Thuanus, lib. xxviii. Barre, tom ix. 3. Id. ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1563.

1563. Its decrees, like thoſe of all other general councils, were calculated to exalt the church above the civil power; but being little ſuited to the ſpirit of the times, they were rejected by ſome catholic princes, coldly received by others, and deſervedly turned into ridicule by the reformers [4]. The declared object of the council of Trent, in this meeting, was the *reformation* of the church, by which means only a reconciliation with the Proteſtants could have been effected. Inſtead, however, of confining themſelves to theological errors, or attempting to eradicate eccleſiaſtical abuſes, the reverend fathers extended their deliberations to the *reformation* of princes, and compoſed thirteen articles for exalting the prieſthood at the expence of the royal prerogative [5].

A.D. 1564. Soon after the diſſolution of the council of Trent, died the emperor, Ferdinand I. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Maximilian II. who, in the beginning of his reign, was obliged to engage in a war againſt the Turks. Solyman II. whoſe valour and ambition had been ſo long terrible to Chriſtendom, though now unfit for the field, continued to make war by his generals. He had even projected, it is ſaid, the conqueſt of the German empire. The affairs of Tranſilvania furniſhed him with a pretext for taking arms. John Sigiſmund, prince of that country, had aſſumed the title of king of Hungary (which his mother had reſigned, as we have ſeen, for ſome poſſeſſions in Sileſia), and put himſelf under the protection of the Grand Seignior. Maximilian immediately ſent an army againſt Sigiſmund, under the command of Lazarus Schuendi. The imperial general took Tokay, and would ſoon have reduced all Tranſilvania, had not Solyman diſpatched

4. Thuanus. Father Paul. 5. Ibid.

an

an ambaſſador to the imperial court, to negociate in behalf of his vaſſal. By this envoy matters were ſeemingly accommodated[6]. LETTER LXVIII. A. D. 1565.

THE ſultan, however, had not laid aſide his ambitious projects, nor happily the emperor his ſuſpicions. While Maximilian convoked a diet at Augſburg, for regulating the domeſtic affairs of the empire, and ſecuring it againſt the Turks, Solyman ſent a fleet and army to reduce the iſland of Malta; whence he hoped to drive the knights of St. John, whom he had formerly expelled from Rhodes, and who ſtill continued, according to the maxims of their order, to annoy the Infidels. But the rock of Malta proved fatal to Solyman's glory. His general, Muſtapha, after a ſiege of almoſt five months, and the loſs of twenty-four thouſand men, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. La Valette, grand-maſter of Malta, and the whole body of knights, ſignalized themſelves wonderfully on that occaſion; but as the Turks were continually reinforced, he muſt at laſt have been obliged to ſurrender the iſland, if Don Garcia, governor of Sicily, had not come to its relief with twelve thouſand men[7].

SOLYMAN, in revenge of this diſappointment and diſgrace, the greateſt he had ever ſuffered, ſent a fleet to reduce the iſland of Scio, and ravage the coaſt of Italy. And having invaded Hungary with a powerful army, he laid ſiege to Sigeth. This city is ſtrongly ſituated in a marſh, about fifteen miles to the north of the Drave, on the frontiers of Sclavonia, and was then the bulwark of Stiria againſt the Turks. It had a garriſon of two thouſand three hundred men,

6. Thuanus, lib. xxxvii. tom. iv. Thuanus, lib. xxxviii.

7. Vertot, *Hiſt. de Chev. de Malth.*

PART I. A. D. 1565.

under the brave count Zerini, who defended it long, with incredible valour, againſt the whole force of the ſultan. Meanwhile the emperor Maximilian lay in the neighbourhood, with an army not inferior to that of the beſiegers, without daring to attempt its relief. At length, all the works being deſtroyed, and the magazine ſet on fire by the enemy, Zerini ſallied out, at the head of three hundred choſen men, and died gallantly with his ſword in his hand [8].

DURING the ſiege of Sigeth, before which the Turks loſt above thirty thouſand men, Solyman expired in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age. But the emperor being unacquainted with this circumſtance, which was kept ſecret till after the reduction of the place, had retired toward the frontiers of Auſtria, as ſoon as informed of the fate of Zerini. Solyman was ſucceeded in the Ottoman throne by his ſon, Selim II. who began his reign with concluding a truce of twelve years with Maximilian [9].

IN conſequence of this truce, and the pacific diſpoſition of the emperor, Germany long enjoyed repoſe, while all the neighbouring nations were diſquieted by wars, either foreign or domeſtic. Selim, in the meantime, was not idle. After attempting, but without ſucceſs, to ſubdue the kingdom of Perſia, he turned his arms againſt the iſland of Cyprus, which at that time belonged to the republic of Venice.

THE pope and the king of Spain, on the firſt rumour of this invaſion, had entered into a league with the Venetians for the defence of Cyprus. But Nicoſia, the capital, was taken by ſtorm, before the arrival of the allied fleet; and the commanders being afterward

8. Heiſs, liv. iii. Barre, tom. ix. Ricaut, vol. ii. 9. Id ibid.

divided

divided in their councils, no attempt was made for the relief of the Cipriots. Meanwhile the Turks, daily reinforced with freſh troops, had reduced all the towns in the iſland except Famageſta That city, after a moſt gallant and obſtinate defence, was obliged to capitulate; and Muſtapha, the Turkiſh general, neither reſpecting courage in an enemy, nor the faith of treaties, ordered Bragadino, the governor, to be flayed alive, and the companions of his heroiſm either to be butchered, or chained to the oar [10]. This conqueſt is ſaid to have coſt the Turks an hundred thouſand lives. LETTER LXVIII. A. D. 1570. A. D. 1571.

THE fate of Cyprus alarmed the Chriſtian powers, at the ſame time that it inflamed their indignation. Charles IX. however excuſed himſelf on account of the diſtracted ſtate of his kingdom, from entering into the league againſt the Turks; the emperor pleaded his truce; and the German princes were, in general, too much intereſted in the iſſue of the religious wars, in France and the Low Countries, to enliſt themſelves under the banner of the croſs. But Philip II. whoſe Italian dominions were in danger, entered warmly into the cauſe, and engaged to bear half the expence of the armament. The Venetians fortified their city, and augmented their fleet. Pope Pius V. who was the ſoul of the enterprize, ſent twelve gallies under the command of Mark Anthony Colonna. Venieri commanded the Venetian gallies; Doria, thoſe of Philip. The chief command was committed to Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon to Charles V. who had lately diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Spain, by ſubduing the Moreſcoes, or deſcendants of the Moors, whom the ſeverity of the inquiſition had rouſed to arms.

AFTER the reduction of Cyprus, the Turks not only ravaged with impunity the coaſts of Dal-

[10] Thuanus, lib. xlix. Cantamir, *Hiſt. Ottoman Emp.* tom. ii.

matia

PART I. matia and Iſtria, but alſo thoſe of Italy. Their fleet, conſiſting of two hundred and thirty gallies, was met by the confederates in the gulf of Lepanto, near Corinth, where was fought the greateſt naval engagement that modern times had ſeen. The force on both ſides was nearly equal, and the diſpute was long, fierce, and bloody. All the paſſions which can animate human nature were rouzed, and all the inſtruments of war and deſtruction, of ancient or modern invention, were employed; arrows, javelins, fire-balls, grappling-irons, cannon, muſkets, ſpears, and ſwords. The hoſtile combatants fought hand to hand in moſt of the gallies, grappled together, as on a field of battle. Hali, the Turkiſh admiral, ſurrounded by four hundred Janizaries, and Don John of Auſtria, with an equal number of choſen men, maintained ſuch a ſtruggle for three hours. At laſt Hali was ſlain, and his galley taken: the banner of the croſs was diſplayed from the main maſt, and the Ottoman admiral's head fixed on the ſtern, in place of the Turkiſh ſtandard. All now was carnage and confuſion. The cry of "Victory! Victory!" reſounded through the Chriſtian fleet, and the Turks every where gave way. They loſt thirty thouſand men in the conflict; ten thouſand were taken priſoners; and fifteen thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves were ſet at liberty. Thirty Turkiſh gallies were ſunk, twenty-five burnt, one hundred and thirty taken; and if Uluzzali, who was ſecond in command, had not retired with twenty-eight gallies, the Ottoman fleet had been utterly deſtroyed. The confederates loſt, on the whole, fifteen gallies, and about ten thouſand men [11].

A. D. 1571. Oct. 5.

THIS victory, which filled Conſtantinople with the deepeſt melancholy, was celebrated at Venice with

11. Feuilet, *Vie du Pape Pie* V. Thuanus. Cantemir. Ricaut.

the moſt ſplendid feſtivals. And Pius V. was ſo tranſ- LETTER
ported when he heard of it, that he exclaimed, in a LXVIII.
kind of holy ecſtacy, "There was a man ſent from A. D. 1571.
"God, and his name was John [12]!" alluding to Don John of Auſtria. Philip's joy was more moderate. "Don John," ſaid he, "has been fortunate, but he "ran a great riſk [13];"—and that riſk, as appeared in the iſſue, was run merely for glory.

The battle of Lepanto, though purchaſed with ſo much blood, and ſo ruinous to the vanquiſhed, was of no real benefit to the victors. After diſputing long what they ſhould do, the Chriſtian commanders reſolved to do nothing till the ſpring. That ſeaſon which ſhould have been employed in taking advantage of the enemy's conſternation, was waſted in fruitleſs negociations and vain-glorious triumphs. The Turks had leiſure, during the winter, to equip a new fleet, which ſpread terror over the coaſts of Chriſtendom, before A. D. 1572.
the confederates were ready to aſſemble; and by the bravery and conduct of Uluzzali, now appointed commander in chief, the reputation of the Ottoman arms was reſtored. The confederates were able to effect no enterprize of importance. Their councils were again divided: they ſeparated. The Spaniards appeared cool in the cauſe; and the Venetians, afraid of being left a prey to the Turkiſh power, ſecretly concluded a peace with Selim. They not only agreed A. D. 1573.
that he ſhould retain Cyprus, but ceded to him ſeveral other places, and ſtipulated to pay him thirty thouſand crowns in gold, toward defraying the expences of the war [14].

THE pope was greatly incenſed at this treaty, which was certainly diſhonourable to Chriſtendom. But Philip II. whoſe attention was now chiefly en-

12. Feuilet, ubi ſup. 13. Mariana, lib. vii.
14. Peruta. Herrera.

gaged

PART I. A. D. 1573. gaged by the civil wars in the Low Countries, readily ſuſtained the apology of the Venetians. It was but reaſonable, he ſaid, that the republic ſhould be permitted to know her own intereſt: for him, it was ſufficient, that he had given proofs of his friendſhip to Venice, and of his zeal for the ſupport of the Chriſtian religion[15].

Don John, however, was little pleaſed with the conduct of the Venetians. After ſeparating from the confederates, he had made himſelf maſter of Tunis, where he propoſed to erect an independent ſovereignty; and he hoped next ſeaſon, by means of the league, utterly to ruin the ſultan's naval power, which he foreſaw would be employed to recover that city and its territory. He was not miſtaken in his conjecture. A fleet of three hundred gallies, with forty A. D. 1574. thouſand land-forces on board, was ſent in the ſpring to inveſt Tunis; and the place, though gallantly defended, was taken by ſtorm, and the garriſon put to the ſword, before a ſufficient force could be aſſembled for its relief[16].

During all theſe bloody tranſactions, the mere recital of which makes the human heart ſhrink from the horrors of war, Germany continued to enjoy tranquillity, under the mild government of Maximilian. He died while preparing to ſupport his election to the kingdom of Poland, and was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by his ſon, Rodolph II. a prince who inherited the pacific diſpoſition of his father.

We muſt now, my dear Philip, return to new ſcenes of ſlaughter; to behold Chriſtians and fellow-citizens exerciſing on each other as great barbarities as ever were inflicted upon the followers of Chriſt by thoſe of Mahomet.

15. Miniana, ubi ſup. 16 Cantemir. Ricaut. Ferreras.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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